NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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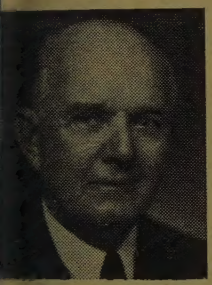
NEWS for League Members

11 All-America Cities Named

Resourceful citizens all over the United States can and do provide the impetus for improvements in local government and community living. This fact was clearly demonstrated during the hearings before the All-America Cities Award jury at the 1952 National Conference on Government in San Antonio.



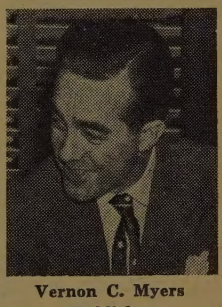
Henry Bruère
President
NML

Interest in this annual feature of the Conference ran high, with several hundred persons attending the two afternoon sessions. Many in the audience returned to their home communities brimful of new ideas for local improvements, heartened by the evidence that individual citizens, banded together, are being successful in securing better conditions in many parts of the nation.

Here's how Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman of the 1952 jury, explained the basis for making the annual awards: "These awards are made not for good government or efficient municipal administration or some specific improvement on its own account, but rather on the basis of energetic, purposeful, intelligent *citizen action.*"

Twenty-two cities of the scores which applied for the awards were invited to present their stories of achievement before the jury. They were selected after careful screening by the League's Eligibility Committee consisting of Philip H. Cornick, Institute of Public Administration; Paul A. Volcker, former town manager, Teaneck, New Jersey; and Richard S. Childs, chairman, executive committee, NML.

Reflecting one of the most acute community problems of the postwar period, five of the eleven winning cities reported significant improvements in educational facilities. Three cities whose citizens voted to rid themselves of machine politics and adopt the council-manager form of government were among the award-winners. Other awards were made for citizen action leading to an outstanding slum clearance program, a cooperative community-wide flood recovery project, crime cleanup and adoption of a strong mayor charter.



Vernon C. Myers
Publisher
"Look Magazine"

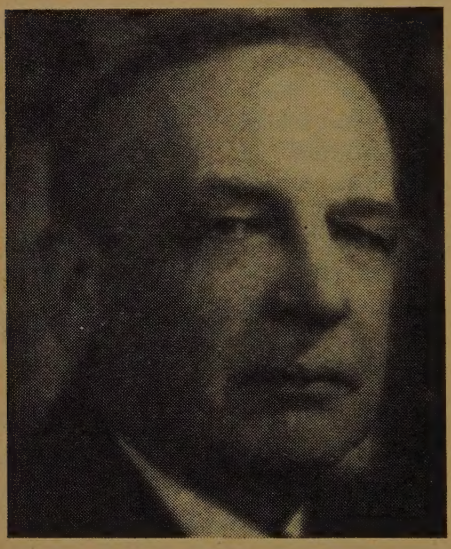
The awards will be presented to the citizens of the winning communities by representatives of the National Municipal League. *Look* magazine, co-sponsor of the awards this year, will also have a representative at each ceremony.

More than six pages of the February 10 issue of *Look*, out January 27, were devoted to the 1952 All-America Cities.

In making the awards, the jury pointed out that there were many cases of meritorious citizen action, in addition to those cities winning citations, which were noted in the many applications received this year.

The Merriam Political Legacy

Charles Edward Merriam, one of the great political scientists of all time, died January 8 in a hospital in Rockville, Maryland, at the age of 78. Dr. Merriam, who joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1900, was chairman of the Department of Political Science from 1923 until his retirement in 1940.



CHARLES E. MERRIAM

Although in a fundamental sense the history of political science can be traced at least back to the Greeks, the political science profession is so young that Dr. Merriam is one of the relatively few pioneers of modern American political science who have passed on—men like Woodrow Wilson, A. Lawrence Lowell, and Frank G. Goodnow.

Dr. Merriam had at least as much as anybody to do with getting political science off the dusty shelves of the chroniclers and the analysts and out of the closet of the theorists by bringin about a synthesis of history, theory an experimental application which justifie the otherwise presumptuous name po litical "science." Thus, like the grea students of politics in other ages an lands—Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Machia velli, James Bryce, for example—Dr Merriam learned, taught and practice his growing mastery of his subject a much outside as inside the academi halls. Beginning as alderman in the ol seventh ward in Chicago, 1907 to 191 Dr. Merriam went through a series o practical experiences in politics and ad ministration, including a nearly suc cessful race for mayor of Chicago i 1911, membership on numerous im portant official and quasi-official com missions such as President Hoover' Commission on Recent Social Trends The National Resources Board, Pres dent Roosevelt's Committee on Admin istrative Management (with Messrs Brownlow and Gulick), the Commissio of Inquiry on Public Service Personne and, more recently, the Commission o Freedom of the Press and the Federa Loyalty Review Board. A one-tim president of the American Politica Science Association, Dr. Merriam wa instrumental in organizing the Socia Science Research Council and becam its first president in 1924. He also ha an important part in creating the Publi Administration Clearing House and it associated group of organizations o public officials and bodies.

His legacy includes 24 books, in numerable articles and a host of stu dents, among whom are many ou

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Editorial Comment

The Merriam Political Legacy

(Continued from page 64)

standing political scientists as well as others engaged or influential in politics and government. One of his students is his son, Robert E. Merriam, who has followed his father as a Chicago city alderman. Father and son have also collaborated in research and writing. At the time of Dr. Merriam's last illness they were working on a college text to be entitled *Our American Government.*

It was inevitable that a man of Dr. Merriam's interests and quality should early have become associated with the National Municipal League and continued to play an important and honored role in its work. The League shared with Dr. Merriam a number of his major interests, including the problem of planning for metropolitan regions and reducing the waste of overlapping governments, the importance of home rule and the necessity of developing nominating and electoral methods that facilitate, not impede, citizen participation and control.

A brief review of some of Dr. Merriam's work with and service to the League indicates the breadth and practical importance of his conception of political science and his sense of responsibility as a functioning citizen.

As early as 1904, Dr. Merriam appears in the League record as a member of the Committee on Coordination of University and Collegiate Instruction in Municipal Government. Through this committee the League continued for some years to work to expand and vitalize the teaching of municipal government and related subjects. In 1909, Dr. Merriam was a member of the Committee on Municipal Reference Libraries. In 1910, he was a member of a Committee on a Program for Improvement of Methods of Municipal Administration. In 1922, he was appointed to a committee directed to advise on the relative attention that ought to be given to municipal affairs as against state and national affairs at League conferences.

Dr. Merriam's urge to reach out for new methods was exemplified by his suggestion at the meeting of the League Council in 1931 that the League prepare films that might be used by universities and colleges in classrooms. The project for civic films for use in and out of college is still high on the League's agenda and awaits only the necessary financing. In 1932, Dr. Merriam became a representative of the League on the Advisory Committee on Civic Education by Radio.

In view of Dr. Merriam's interest in the problems of political organization and action, it was natural that he served on a League Committee on a Plan of Political Organization which between 1914 and 1917 worked on the problem of how to develop local parties, nonpartisan in the sense that they would be distinct from the national parties. In 1926 he became chairman of the Committee on Election Administration which issued two models, the *Model Election Administration System* and the *Model Registration System,* the

fourth edition of which is now in preparation.

Dr. Merriam was also a member of the Committee on the Revision of the Model City Charter which prepared the current draft of that, the most influential of all the League's models.

Dr. Merriam appeared repeatedly on the program of the annual National Conference on Government and in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, especially on such subjects as the metropolitan area problem and the direct primary. At the Cleveland Conference in 1930 he reviewed municipal progress in the preceding quarter century and made significant, hopeful predictions of things to come. The stenographic report of this speech was printed in the January 1931 REVIEW. A spectacular prediction in that speech, one yet to be realized but about which more may yet be heard, is that "there is likely to be some experimentation with city-states." This prediction stemmed in part from Dr. Merriam's interest in metropolitan areas and his feeling that in our present state system, with rural dominance of state legislatures, these areas are not permitted to play the role they should in the conduct of their own affairs and those of the nation. Dr. Merriam discussed the urban-rural conflict again at the next Conference in Buffalo.

Another important REVIEW article, entitled "Recent Tendencies in Primary Election Systems," published in February 1921, was a companion piece to the address of Charles Evans Hughes as president of the League at the 1920 Conference in Indianapolis on "The Fate of the Direct Primary," published in the January 1921 REVIEW. Dr. Merriam's ideas, as well as those of Mr. Hughes, made important contributions to the League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* issued in 1951.

It was fitting that Dr. Merriam should have been an honorary vice president of the League at the time of his death. He had held this title since 1932, after having served as vice president since 1924.

The correspondence file shows continuing communication with Dr. Merriam until a few months before his last illness. As recently as March 1951, Dr. Merriam was admonishing Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee and co-founder with Woodrow Wilson of the short ballot movement, to "renew your interest in the short ballot, to which you have already contributed so much. The situation is getting worse in many places and I think it is high time for another move in this direction." A later letter related to Dr. Merriam's abiding interest in the metropolitan problem.

These things Dr. Merriam accomplished during his life. He will continue, through his writings and the memories and teachings of his many students and co-workers, to convey wisdom, to hold up standards and to encourage men to hopeful and constructive action.

Toward Winning States' Rights

Reform of antiquated legislatures is urged by Oregon senator to check the flow of power toward Washington.

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER*

"STATES' RIGHTS" is still a battle cry of freedom to many Americans in public life. These men and women deplore the rise of a vast centralized government, and they yearn for the era when basic political and economic decisions were made beneath the 48 state capitol domes rather than at the White House or in marble conference rooms in Washington, D. C. To zealous sponsors of states' rights, America never has been the same since federal sovereignty emerged supreme in such varied realms as taxation, natural resources, labor relations and even housing and aid to the needy.

Yet, when all is said and done, the march toward an increasingly powerful federal government is never going to be deterred by speeches or political maneuvering. It can be halted only by the states themselves. They must demonstrate that they are capable of governing effectively, honestly and with reasonable haste in time of crisis. When their state government falls down on an essential chore, voters inevitably look to big government in Washington to step into the breach. Federal authority under the New Deal originally crowded out states' rights because the states, meaning principally their legislatures, failed utterly even to scratch the crucial problems of misery, unemployment and farm surpluses stemming from the industrial depression of the nineteen thirties.

Will legislatures in 1953 be better equipped to grapple with a great emergency? Can they exercise the states' rights which are so often a subject of legislative oratory? In each state the legislature is the supreme policy-making arm of government. But is this arm sinewy and strong—or is it shriveled and weak?

Despite the presence in legislative chambers of many sincere men and women, few legislatures today command widespread confidence and respect. Public faith has been weakened by episodes involving petty corruption, prolonged delays and bungling inefficiency. Too many laws full of jokers emanate from the state lawmaking process. Disgusted electorates frequently regard undignified personal behavior as standard procedure at the state capital.

Indeed, the tidelands oil controversy which figures prominently in the present [1952] campaign directly involves the lack of trust in state legislatures. Many people are unwilling to relinquish offshore petroleum reserves claimed by Louisiana, Texas and California because of a fear that the legislatures of those states might fritter away the oil stores in defiance of the public interest. A similar doubt of legislative wisdom

*Mr. Neuberger is a state senator in the Oregon legislature. A free-lance writer and author of several books, he has had numerous articles published in *This Week, New York Times* and *American Magazines*. The article above is reprinted with permission from the *New York Times Magazine* of October 27, 1952.

and integrity lies behind the reluctance to surrender to state control federal land-grant timber in the mountains of Oregon and Washington.

Once it was practically axiomatic in the United States that the leaders of the nation would rise out of state legislatures. Jefferson and Madison were members of the Virginia House of Delegates. Lincoln and both Roosevelts began their careers with legislative membership. Yet comparatively few of the country's best known political figures today ever served in a legislature. None of the four most recent presidential nominees of the major parties had legislative experience in his own state.

Few governors who have won recent national fame were ever enrolled in the legislatures to which they now direct their messages and recommendations—not Stevenson of Illinois, Dewey of New York nor Warren of California. And a compilation of United States senators without apprenticeship in state legislatures would feature such diverse names as Morse of Oregon, Douglas of Illinois, Bricker of Ohio and McFarland of Arizona.

Legislatures have lost prestige and standing in many instances because they are attempting to perform a twentieth century task with tools and methods of our frontier days. State constitutions, written before the age of the internal combustion engine or the urban metropolis, reach a bony hand out of the distant past and hold legislatures in a viselike grip. In only ten states are legislatures authorized to meet annually. This means that expenditures, appropriations and taxes must be forecast up to 24 months in advance, an impossible chore in a swiftly changing society. One reason for the sad condition of state mental institutions is this lag in legislative ability to confront new needs as well as the old, familiar problems. In a state as populous as Pennsylvania—where more than 10,000,000 people live—the legislature can sit in regular session only every other year.

Cinderella Legislatures

Still more amazing is the fact that many legislatures, like Cinderella, must quit on the stroke of some specific midnight after a comparatively fleeting whirl. More than half the states impose such a rigid limitation. Alabama's legislature can meet for a mere 36 days, the Washington legislature for 60 days, Indiana's assembly for 61 days. The usual result is a tremendous torrent of bills surging through both houses during final hours, with the clocks ceremoniously stopped or blacked out to preserve the legal fiction of conforming to the state constitution.

Under this stress bills become law without any real study or debate. I have fidgeted through mornings in the Oregon State Senate when haste goaded us into voicing "yeas" and "nays" on more than 30 important measures in the space of two hours. On one occasion we passed a bill 42 pages in length which only a handful of senators had even scanned. Later we discovered that we had doubled the license-plate fee on small passenger automobiles but reduced it for the heaviest trucks. This was quite the opposite of what most of us intended.

Because state legislative sessions are so far apart, few of these law-making bodies have permanent staffs. Each meeting of the legislature begins from scratch. Nearly all employees are new—clerks, secretaries and committee counsels. The opening weeks are spent groping for a start. By the time the personnel finally knows its way around, a session often must fold up to comply with the time ceiling on its tenure. Bills pour through the hoppers like confetti, even though they pertain to such vital matters as schools, highways, courts, public health and taxes.

The Council of State Governments has recommended "skilled and full-time legislative employees appointed on the basis of merit and competence." But this still is only a faint hope in most assemblies, where temporary staffs are patched together from among loyal and deserving workers for the party in power.

Political Employees

In the legislature where I serve, two factors ordinarily decide who shall be hired—politics and nepotism. An overwhelming majority of the legislators are Republicans, and thus only Republicans pass muster as chief clerks or calendar clerks. In the one-party Democratic states the same political monopoly prevails in reverse.

The few Democrats recruited for employment in our legislature usually are the relatives of Democratic senators or representatives. At least half the members of both parties have their wives on the legislative payroll. Because many of these wives cannot operate a typewriter, take shorthand or file documents expertly, the work of the session bogs down.

Yet the people of the state rarely protest this situation because of a strange sense of guilt. The guilt arises out of the pay for legislators in Oregon—$600 a year.

Unless a member can get his wife on the payroll he cannot meet ordinary living expenses at the state capital. My wife and I are both elected members of the Oregon legislature, but our combined salaries barely take care of out-of-pocket costs during a session, when we must be away from home. We constantly have to travel back and forth between the capital and our districts to familiarize ourselves with local problems involved in legislation. Yet the state does not even provide mileage expenses.

Nor is Oregon at the bottom among the states in pay to the men and women who enact laws. A friend of mine in the New Hampshire legislature said he could earn much more at baby-sitting or caddying on a golf course than passing upon the principal social, economic and political issues confronting the state.

Legislative pay in New Hampshire is $200 for a two-year term in office. Tennessee rewards its law-makers with $4 a day when the legislature is in session. This rate has not gone up since 1870. Kansas, North Dakota and Rhode Island pay senators and representatives $5 a day. In Arizona the fee for a day's work on the statute books is $8. Many states pay legislators $10 a day, a sum balked at by doorkeepers and custodians. Connecticut's state senators and representatives are paid annually; the amount is $300.

These absurdly low salaries are are often cemented in state constitutions, another indication of the rigidity with which legislatures today are controlled from out of the past. The pay cannot be raised by mere statute, as can be done in the national Congress, for example. Most of the constitutional provisions governing pay, procedure and length of legislative sessions date from a period when Indian hostiles and donation homesteads were the states' knottiest problems.

Legislative rules in my state have changed little since Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce were on the warpath. These rules are part of the constitution, for many states have charters five or six times as long as the constitution of the United States.

California's constitution contains 72,000 words and that of Louisiana 63,000 words. Contrast these with the 7,500 words in the constitution which guides the entire nation and it becomes clear why legislatures, which should be deciding matters of basic governmental policy, must devote precious days to fixing the hours of work of deputy sheriffs and outlining the boundaries of water districts.

Meager Compensation

A committee of political scientists organized by the National Municipal League has announced that "legislative compensation in the larger states should not be less than $7,500 or $8,000 per year, and that in no case should it be less than $4,000." But only a token number of states even approach this goal. New York and Illinois each pays legislators $5,000 annually. These are the top figures for the country. The general run of legislative pay, rooted in the granite of state constitutions, is closer to the $500 a year received by senators and representatives in Utah, West Virginia and Vermont.

One of the unfortunate phases of trifling legislative pay is its symbolism. It seems to herald, to legislators and public alike, that the job of enacting state laws is not very important, after all. The dignity is squeezed out of the title. Could this be why a study showed 40 per cent of all legislative members in the nation to be without previous experience? Good men quit in disgust or never even make a try for the legislature.

Out of this atmosphere comes a stream of shoddy episodes. Rhode Island legislators leave the capitol building early to man the $2 windows at a nearby race-track. A Missouri representative turns up on the payroll of a trucking company while the assembly is debating highway taxes. New Jersey legislators, deciding upon transportation bills, vote themselves passes on the railroads which cross the state. A multimillion-dollar California lobbyist for beer interests boasts that he is "the governor of the legislature."

What can be done to restore grandeur to state government and to add something besides oratorical meaning to states' rights?

(1) Legislatures should be in session whenever important issues arise and not at sporadic and widely separated intervals.

(2) Pay must be adequate to attract good men—at least $6,000 a year in all states.

(3) States should call constitu-

tional conventions to draft new charters and to free legislative bodies from picayune restrictions dating from nearly a century ago.

(4) Legislatures should be smaller in size to revive orderly procedure and to familiarize voters with the qualifications of candidates. Why should the Vermont, Connecticut and New Hampshire legislatures each include more members than the Canadian Parliament?

(5) Permanent staffs, protected by civil service, should hold over between sessions and thus assure continuity and experience to the legislative process.

These reforms would put meat on the skeleton of states' rights, which is ostentatiously exhibited at so many political clinics. State government is only as strong as the legislature that enacts state laws and shapes basic state policy.

Lopsided Legislatures

Yet states' rights, to endure, need something still more. Too many legislatures are predominantly one party in make-up. Where there is no effective opposition, skulduggery flourishes and idealism withers. Most Americans think only of the south in terms of one-party system. They are dimly aware that the Georgia legislature contains 257 Democrats to two Republicans, but they overlook the fact that this kind of domination is not confined to southern states.

The legislature of North Dakota numbers 160 Republicans and two Democrats, that of Oregon includes 72 Republicans and eighteen Democrats. In Vermont, laws are written by 245 Republicans and 23 Democrats. Regardless of how the national elections go in Connecticut, the state House of Representatives has stayed Republican in every election since the Civil War. These lopsided Republican majorities approximate the contrasting situation in Tennessee, where the legislature consists of 109 Democrats and 23 Republicans.

What remedy exists for this one-party rule which robs legislative operation in many states of vitality and the will to pioneer?

If the legislatures were divided into new districts according to population in the states north of the Mason and Dixon line, Republican control on a lopsided basis soon would end, or at least be modified. Rural areas now are over-represented in many states. These agricultural counties mainly elect Republicans to go to the legislature. At the same time the metropolitan realms, largely Democratic in voting behavior, are denied their full quota of seats.

I speak for 85,000 urban residents; the state senator at the desk next to mine represents 8,000 rural residents. Yet each of us is supposed to have the same number of constituents. Adjustment of these inequities would ameliorate the one-party rule by Republicans in Oregon.

But the solution to one-party hegemony in the south is not so simple. Long, slow years of attrition may be necessary to erode the time-honored habit of voting the straight local Democratic ticket on election day.

A healthy, active opposition to the majority party in state legislatures the country over is one of the most practical methods for rehabilitating states' rights, right at the source of these local freedoms.

Cities Rush Home Rule Gate

Rhode Island communities, long kept in chains by state, obtain new charters under recent constitutional change.

By ROBERT J. M. O'HARE*

THE state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is famous for a number of reasons. First, it is the smallest of the 48 states. Of course, it was the first state to allow full and complete religious freedom for all sects. It was the site of the first naval engagement in the Revolutionary War. It is the site of the first cotton mill. For a small state, a number of other "firsts" could be cited. Historically, Rhode Island is able to stand beside other states of our nation in accomplishments.

When we speak of government matters, however, Rhode Island has a number of "lasts" on its records. It was the last of the original thirteen colonies to ratify the federal constitution. It was one of the last states to rid itself of bicameral local city councils. Until the November 1952 election, it was among the last four states not having a council-manager city within its borders. Only Arkansas, Indiana and Louisiana lag behind Rhode Island.

In between these records of "firsts" and "lasts," Rhode Island has reason to be proud of other accomplishments. One of these is constitutional home rule. Home rule is still an infant, having been born on June 28, 1951, when the voters of the state ratified a good home rule amendment to the state constitution.

Historically, Rhode Island, and I speak now of colonial times, was accustomed to much local home rule. This dates from the founding of Providence by Roger Williams, through the founding of the Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay under a patent from the Earl of Warwick, to the creation of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations under a charter granted by King Charles II of England. In every step of the way the local communities of the new colony organized and managed their own local affairs and services. Each town retained its own individuality and functioned to a great degree without reference to any higher authority, except for those few laws which were commonly accepted by all communities.

During the 1700s this situation flourished even though the King Charles Charter had set up a General Assembly for the entire colony with vast authority over local matters. During the 1800s, with ever-increasing population and with the development and expansion of the state, the General Assembly, which had up to this time held in reserve its powers over matters of local concern, began to assert itself. As each new statute was pressed through the state legislature, the powers which formerly belonged to the local com-

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munities were gradually but steadily diminished, so that by the 1900s, the General Assembly held full sway over local matters.

With the legislature in full control, there have been no modern charters in Rhode Island. There were four cities with ancient charters that all but pre-dated their organizations as cities.

In 1939 the General Assembly did enact a law enabling Providence to establish a charter commission of eleven members, three chosen by each of the two major political parties and five appointed by the mayor. This commission drafted a creditable charter for the capital city, but not what is considered as a modern charter in the strict sense of the word. It did not undertake to reorganize departments to any extent, nor did it streamline the election procedure. Though referred to as a strong-mayor charter, it is really a modified strong-mayor document.

Charter Pleas Rejected

Outside of this one authorization, no other changes were forthcoming. This does not mean that there were no communities in need of charter change. There were many communities in need of immediate change. On one occasion, the people of Jamestown petitioned for a council-manager charter, but were rejected. On three occasions the people of Newport petitioned for a council-manager charter, but were denied the opportunity. In point of fact, it is commonly accepted that the General Assembly continually played one community against another on specific legislation, so that charter revision was more a subject of polite conversation than it was a plan for action.

What took place to change this picture? A little over two years ago, Rhode Island elected a governor who had just previously served as mayor of Providence. He had witnessed the all-powerful grip that the General Assembly had on cities and towns. He was aware that Providence had benefited by charter revision. He also understood that, as present conditions stood, the chances for charter revision in other cities and towns were remote. As candidate for the office of governor, he pledged himself to secure adoption of optional charter and home rule legislation. He included home rule in his inaugural address.

Governor Dennis J. Roberts in office knew that it took more than an inaugural address to carry out such a plan of action. He probably realized that such a progressive concept of local government was anathema to most members of the legislature. There was need for something extraordinary, something to which he could point more objectively, in order to focus the people's attention on the existing need for home rule legislation.

Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon one's outlook, that necessary ingredient for activating such a program rested with the second largest city in the state, Pawtucket. This city of 81,000 population had been boss-ridden and machine-ridden for over a half century. I do not intend to portray the multitude of incidents and events that took place in this city over the past few years, but I will put my finger on the occa-

sion that prompted active consideration of home rule legislation.

It was on the morning of April 24, 1951. A house committee had scheduled a hearing on a funding bond bill for Pawtucket. The mayor, a member of the opposition party, had opposed the bill from its inception but it had passed locally over his opposition and had been referred to the legislature for action. The Citizens League of Pawtucket, an infant organization at the time, decided to send a delegation to the State House to sit in at the hearing on the bond bill. Approximately a hundred persons made the trip to Providence.

Members of the group were met by a sergeant-at-arms who notified them that they were to be denied admittance to the hearing room on orders of the committee chairman. This was a strange edict and set the stage for a march on the governor's office. Governor Roberts spoke with leaders of this assemblage and, after being told of what had transpired, promised them he would sign no bond bills until they had been given an opportunity to be heard.

On the day following, we had what we refer to in Pawtucket as "The Great Compromise." So that the bond bills would not be held up to the detriment of the communities concerned, Governor Roberts agreed to approve all bond bills. At the same time, he directed that a state audit be made of the records and accounts of Pawtucket—the first within memory; he obtained enabling legislation to have a charter commission appointed to draft a new city charter for Pawtucket; and he promised to support home rule in the contemplated constitutional convention.

On May 1 Governor Roberts met with leaders of the two major political parties to discuss the proposal for a constitutional convention, and he himself insisted on a sound home rule amendment. Twenty-five days later the voters of Rhode Island approved the first such convention held in the state for 109 years.[1] It is no secret that leaders in both parties opposed the calling of such a convention. Neither is it any secret that they opposed home rule.

Home Rule Achieved

Opposition carried over to the floor of the convention in the first days of June. Political lines were drawn on what should have been a strictly nonpartisan amendment. It was only after strenuous effort on the part of the governor and a few real leaders that the amendment was reported out of committee and approved by the convention by a vote of 172 to 0. A special constitutional election held on June 28, 1951, saw home rule ratified by a greater vote than was given to any of the other proposed amendments. It received more support in Pawtucket proportionately than it did anywhere else in the state. Home rule became part and parcel of the state constitution.

Rhode Island was the first of the New England states to ratify such an amendment and it became one of the few states in the nation with a self-executing amendment.

Under this amendment, we have the following provisions:

(1) Section 1 itself is significant.

[1]See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

It reads: "It is the intent of this article to grant and confirm to the people of every city and town in this state the right of self-government in all local matters."

(2) Every city and town has the right to elect a charter commission at any time to draft a new charter.

(3) Under any such charter there must be a local legislative body elected by the qualified voters.

(4) The state legislature may pass no law which affects the form of government of any city or town.

(5) The state legislature may still pass laws pertaining to the property, affairs and government of cities and towns which apply alike to all such cities and towns.

(6) The state legislature may pass a special act for a particular city or town, but this may not become law unless it is approved by the voters of the community at a special referendum election.

(7) The state legislature still retains powers in regard to borrowing and taxation, but this is not restrictive or controlling in nature since even acts passed in conformity to these reserved powers must be approved by the local electorate.

How to Get a Charter

The charter revision procedure of the amendment is relatively simple and uncomplicated. Fifteen per cent of the qualified voters petition for a special election to vote on the question of electing a charter commission to frame a charter. When this petition is filed with the local legislative body, it is first verified by the canvassing authority to determine its sufficiency. Then it is referred back to the council, which must hold a special election within 60 days. At this election, the voters vote first on the question: "Shall a charter commission be appointed to frame a charter?" and second on the candidates for the charter commission. The local council provides the method for the nomination and election of these charter commissioners but the amendment specifies that there be nine, that they be elected from the community at large, that they run for office without political or party designation, and that they be listed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

The votes cast for and against the question are counted first. If a majority of the votes favors a charter commission, the votes are then counted for the candidates to the commission. The nine who receive the greater number of votes are declared elected.

Within one year from the date of its election, the charter framed by the commission must be submitted to the local legislative body, which must provide for its publication and for its submission to the electorate for ratification at the next general election. There is one stipulation that a charter must be submitted to the legislative body 30 days prior to such election in order that it be placed on the ballot.

If the charter is approved, it becomes effective on the date set in it. It may be amended thereafter by local legislative action in the form of a referendum placed before the people at either a special or general election.

A number of communities have taken advantage of this charter re-

vision procedure to date. Seven charters were presented to the voters in seven different communities in the November 1952 election. Four were ratified. Of those, there are three strong-mayor charters in the cities of Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls.[2] Newport became the first and only council-manager city in the state. All four charters have nonpartisan, off-year local elections, and all four are modern charters in the sense that they reorganize the entire structure of their respective city governments.

There has been one advisory opinion on the powers of cities and towns under present charters and under home rule charters. The Supreme Court was emphatic that until such time as cities and towns adopt home rule charters they still remain creatures of the state legislature, subject to its whims and acts.

Home Rule Association

In March 1951, just prior to consideration of the home rule amendment, there was formed a Home Rule Association, a nonpartisan statewide federation of civic groups and lay leaders. This organization played a leading role in helping to create favorable consideration of home rule. It circularized delegates to the convention with a model home rule amendment. It publicized by radio and television the necessity for constitutional home rule. It has, through a well manned legal committee, drafted a number of model resolutions and even model petitions and nomination papers, to assist local government bodies in the charter revision procedure. It has published a brochure explaining all the ramifications of home rule. It has sponsored a conference dealing with important charter problems. In short, it has lent a hand wherever possible to help communities take advantage of home rule. I believe it is the only such organization in existence today and much credit goes to its leadership.

This, in short, is a digest of what one state has done to increase responsible local government. If one man deserves recognition for his part, he is Governor Dennis J. Roberts. The League of Women Voters, the Rhode Island Home Rule Association, the Citizens League of Pawtucket and the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council deserve a word of praise for their participation as well.

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[2]See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 570.

Education — A Thing Apart?

Educators and political scientists in conflict over relationship of schools to local government system.

By ERNEST A. ENGELBERT*

THE status of education in our governmental system is an issue of grave public conflict in America today. The past year has witnessed bitter political battles in a number of communities over proposed changes in the organization and administration of the public school system. Communities and civic organizations are being split apart by campaigns to save the schools. Moreover, all signs indicate that controversies will become more serious as the hard-pressed tax-conscious citizen endeavors to appraise the quality of education as a governmental service.

On the one side are arrayed those forces who believe that the function of education should be independently organized, independently financed and independently controlled by boards of education and professional educators, answerable only to a voting public. On the other side stand those who believe that the function of education should be integrated more closely into the over-all political process and general government to produce greater effectiveness and democratic responsibility.

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It is tragic that during a time when both education and democracy need vigorous support, two distinguished groups, the educators and political scientists, are in general gravely divided over the status of education in our governmental system. The cleavage began to take root some time before the turn of the century when local governments and services were first subjected to administrative reorganization. It has, however, deepened in recent years with the growth of professionalism and the competition between educational and other governmental jurisdictions for administrative controls and financial support. Today, both within academic institutions and government agencies one finds great antagonisms between professional educators and political scientists on almost every issue concerning education.

Following is a brief resumé of some of the points of conflict which reflect how difficult any resolution of the controversy has become. There are, to be sure, a few educators who will side with political scientists on some of these issues and vice versa. Moreover, this presentation does not purport to represent the thinking of all members of these respective groups.

Philosophy and Function of Education. The disagreements between educators and students of government originate in what are regarded to be differing concepts about the philosophy and function of education

in our governmental system. The educators view education as the queen of all governmental services. It is a public responsibility which they feel is so basic to the growth and culture of our civilization and to the values of our democracy that it cannot be treated in the same perspective as other governmental services. Education deals with life's most precious creation—the human being.

It is, therefore, a social and spiritual undertaking which cannot be classified in the same category as public works—utility regulation, police and fire protection—or other governmental undertakings. Educators feel that political scientists are primarily concerned with the structure and organization of education and not with the child. They also feel that the political scientist's interest in all phases of government causes education to be placed in a subordinate role.

Political scientists, on the other hand, counter with the claim that educators have a grossly exaggerated concept of the importance of education in a democracy vis-a-vis other governmental services. They deny that democracy, culture and civilization are primarily the product of our educational system, rather than the product of our total social and economic environment. They point to a number of other public services, such as health and social welfare, which likewise deal directly with the human being and which in many respects could be considered as sacrosanct as education. Political scientists feel that educators have developed a narrow and inbred concept about the function of education which is reducing its potential effectiveness for good government and democracy.

Schools vs. Politics

Education and the Political Process. Educators and political scientists are at odds over what should be the relationships of the educational function to the general political process. Educators look at education as a nonpartisan function which should be divorced from the maelstrom of politics. They stress the need for keeping the educational function independent of general government, to protect it from the compromising situations, if not outright corruption, of the political environment.

They maintain that a public school system with independent boards of education elected directly by the voters is not only democratically organized but gives a greater measure of citizen interest and participation in the educational function than would occur if education were integrated into local government. The educators feel that the proposals of the political scientist to bring the function of education into the framework of general government would put education at the disadvantage and mercy of political elements, who would show neither understanding nor sympathy for the goals and needs of the schools.

To this argument the students of government answer that the educators exhibit a distorted and unwholesome attitude to the political process which undermines public confidence in the institutions of government. Political scientists stress the need for bringing the function of education more closely into relationship with other governmental services and the political process generally so that education

will be exerting its rightful influence upon the problems and institutions of democracy. They contend that neither the educators nor the public schools make their biggest contribution to democracy by endeavoring to build a Chinese Wall around their function to exclude supposedly contaminating influences of politics.

As a professional group, educators should be the first to know that democracy thrives on participation and criticism, and they should be the first to appreciate that, when education withdraws from the general political process which is the essence of democracy, its chances of becoming a sterile activity with little significance for democratic society are correspondingly enhanced. Furthermore, political scientists point out the danger of building a special citizen clientele whose major interest is to protect politically the function of education. Political scientists maintain that the function of education should be the concern of all citizens, not simply parents or teachers; and that education will be less vulnerable to political attack if support is broadly based.

School Record Better Than City?

Organization of Education. Educators and political scientists are far apart upon the issue of the organization of education in our governmental system. Though educators admit that the educational system is by no means administratively perfect, they stress the fact that the school system has on the whole a far better administrative record than the average city or local government. They contend that the independent school system results in greater organizational effectiveness, in better assurance that the judgments of experts will prevail, in more financial stability, and in better relations between executives and elected officials.

Placing the education function under the city government, in their view, produces political and administrative decisions by persons unfit to make judgments for education, brings in unsympathetic budget scrutiny, leads to interference with teaching personnel and procedures, and breeds unwise competition between education and other public services. Educators point out that political scientists are so obsessed with theories of organization and administrative structure they would force all functions of government into the same mold, irrespective of the unique differences among subject matter fields that may be involved. The political scientist simply does not appreciate that the organization pattern for education cannot be the same as for the fire department.

On the other hand, the political scientist denies that, if separate school districts were abolished and the function of education incorporated into a department of city government, the professional quality of education would suffer. They point to the quality of programs and high administrative standards which are maintained by other governmental services as evidence that administrative integration does not compromise professional values and goals. They contend that independently elected boards of education and separate administrative structures make it difficult for either the people or their elected representatives to make any single effective over-all judgment

about all governmental functions and their relationships. They stress the fact that the crying need today is for more responsible government which can come only through integration. Political scientists maintain that the proposals of educators weaken the whole system of state and local government, which in the end weakens the local system of school administration as well.

Fiscal Support of Education. Another area which has given rise to bitter controversy is how education should be supported fiscally. Educators have pressed strongly for complete financial autonomy for the public schools both in the revenue-raising and the expenditure process. At the local level they have fought bitterly to retain tax powers for school districts and freedom from municipal budget review. At the state level they have sought to write into the constitution and into legislation provisions which would guarantee education a fixed percentage of revenues. Educators contend that education suffers more than other governmental services in our uncertain fiscal environment, and that educators as political neophytes are least able to protect their interests in the give and take of the legislative process. Educators contend that political scientists are so absorbed in achieving over-all governmental fiscal harmony and financial review that they are blind to political realities.

Political scientists, contrariwise, state that they are seeking to develop an over-all governmental system which will permit the citizen to make one single intelligent over-all decision about his tax dollar rather than a series of unrelated judgments. They point out that other functions, such as highways and social welfare, are likewise trying to secure financial autonomy and security. This trend they maintain not only weakens the administrative powers of our chief elected officers but in a period of declining revenues leads to financial chaos. On the basis of inadequate teachers' salaries and school facilities, they deny that the function of education has spectacularly prospered as a result of independent financial authority. Political scientists take the position that, if educators had a more wholesome conception of the relative importance of other governmental services, the fiscal fears of the educators would disappear.

Education Personnel

Training and Control of Personnel. Great division exists between educators and political scientists over the training and control of educational personnel. Educators have fought for an independent school system for the purpose of establishing high standards for the teaching profession. They have fostered the development of teacher training schools in separate professional schools within colleges and universities. Through their numerous professional associations they have exercised powerful influence in legislative halls upon the content of legislation. Through state and local boards of education they have endeavored to set the administrative standards governing the work and conduct of teaching and institutional personnel. Educators contend that only by vigorous surveillance and control of the

entire educational system will their profession advance.

Political scientists reply that they heartily favor the professional advancement of education but not at the risk of giving a single profession complete control over a major function of government. They point out that no group, the medical profession not excepted, has gone so far in proposals to insulate its profession. They suggest that there is grave danger that the educational profession will become a hierarchy of inbred personnel. Political scientists recognize the need for a thorough-going merit system in the educational field, but want to insure that the experts will be on tap and not on top.

To Change or Not to Change

Success of Education. Finally, educators rest their case for an independent school system on the grounds that it has proved successful. Why change a system that has provided the world with the most spectacular educational achievement in the history of civilization? To integrate the school system into city governments as they now exist might retard the advancement of education for decades. Educators contend that, as far as the layman is concerned, the question of an independent school system is a closed issue. Why do not political scientists and others envious of education's status accept the public mandate and turn their efforts to issues of greater importance?

Political scientists reply that educators on this issue at least are living in the past and not in the future. They say that the remedy for advancing the cause of education does not lie in finding historical justification for a continuation of independent organization of the school systems. Educators still conceive of city government in terms of the corruption of the 1890s and ignore the advancements in municipal administration that have taken place in the last half century. Moreover, political scientists contend that educators are failing to interpret properly the crises in which public education finds itself today. The current financial struggles of the public school system, the rise of anti-school campaigns and the growing controversies of public versus private schools, are not coincidental phenomena nor unrelated to this issue. Political scientists contend that educators will need all the help they can get in their fight to protect public education. The first step is to reorganize education out of its independent status into a function that will give it better protection not only from the other institutions of government but the public at large.

Here then are some of the major issues in the controversy between schools and local government. Undoubtedly there are merits in the arguments on both sides. Unfortunately neither the political scientists nor the educators have given this problem sufficient attention. A number of studies urgently need to be undertaken to shed light on this major controversy. Educators and political scientists need to close ranks and restudy afresh the relationships of the public school system to the governmental process.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

64 Council-manager Additions in 1952

Total for U. S. and Canada Becomes 1147

CITIES and other local governments to the number of 64, according to the latest available information, were added in 1952 to the list of communities having the council-manager form of government in the U. S. and Canada. This makes a total of 1,147.

At the current rate of adoptions the council-manager plan will become the prevailing form of government for American cities by 1960. Almost 40 per cent of all communities in the U. S. over 25,000 population now have the plan, as do about a third of those between 10,000 and 25,000.

Illinois led all states in adoptions last year with eleven, eight of which took advantage of an enabling act passed by the state legislature two years ago. The other three adoptions were accomplished by local ordinance.

Newport became the first council-manager city in Rhode Island, taking advantage of a 1951 constitutional amendment providing home rule.

Tacoma, Washington, (population 143,000) was the largest city to adopt council-manager government in 1952. Cincinnati (504,000), often called the "best governed city in America," is the largest council-manager city today; Teterboro, New Jersey, (28) the smallest.

Council-manager government is most popular in Maine, where 117 communities now have this plan, California is second with 105, followed by Texas with 93, Michigan 83, Virginia 64, Florida 58, Pennsylvania 54, North Carolina 47 and Oklahoma 45.

Snyder (1950 population 12,010) and **Ranger** (3,989), **Texas,** are reported by the International City Managers' Association as having adopted the council-manager plan in 1952. The ICMA has also added to its list **Escondido** (6,544) and **Paso Robles, California,** stating that they had adopted the plan prior to 1952.

Indio (5,300) and **Nevada City** (2,505), **California,** and **Deerfield, Illinois,** (3,288) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance in 1952.

After counting absentee ballots, the final vote tally in **Bristol, Rhode Island,** showed that the proposed council-manager charter was defeated on November 4 by the narrow margin of 44 out of a total vote of 4,307.

The charter commission of **North Kingstown, Rhode Island,** has tentatively decided to draft a council-manager charter.

A group advocating a council-manager plan of town government for **Watertown, Connecticut,** has been seeking a charter from the state legislature. The need of reducing the number of independent officials, boards and commissions — now twenty — is stressed.

In a panel discussion in December on "What's Right and What's Wrong with **Peekskill (New York)**" former corporation counsel Isadore Vogel urged the need of a trained city manager, especially in view of a city budget of nearly $1,000,000.

A charter revision commission is at work in **Geneva, New York.** The council-manager and strong-mayor plans of government are topics of study.

Petitions in **Savannah, Georgia,** seeking to force the city council to appoint

a new charter commission, in line with the people's advisory vote for the manager plan, have been declared insufficient. The Junior Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters are considering circulation of new petitions this year.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Elmhurst, Illinois,** is working for a referendum election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

Alton, Illinois, in January defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan.

Petitions for an election on the recall of five members of the **San Antonio, Texas,** city council were declared to be lacking in sufficient valid signatures, even when additional signatures were obtained after the first rejection. Proponents of the recall are reported as having organized for the purpose of proposing candidates for council at the regular city election on April 7. The Citizens' Committee for Council-Manager Government, however, is hoping that a crushing defeat will at that time be administered to the recall group's candidates.

In **Eureka, California,** City Councilman George C. Jacobs advocates an election this year on the question of adopting the manager plan. **Oroville, California,** has such an election scheduled for April.

Commission Plan Dropped By Beatrice, Nebraska

Forty years of commission government have been ended by the voters of Beatrice, Nebraska, (population 11,813) who in November decided two to one to abandon it in favor of the statutory mayor-council plan.

This change is illustrative of the optional forms of city government available to cities in Nebraska. The standard form is the mayor-council plan and applies to cities of from 1,000 to 40,000, with minor differences for first and second class cities. Most cities follow this plan which applies automatically unless a change is voted locally.

The commission form, authorized by statute in 1911, may be adopted by any city of 2,000 or more. The council-manager plan is available to cities of 1,000 or more. Under a constitutional provision any city of 5,000 or more may adopt a home rule charter. Thus, Nebraska has a somewhat liberal plan for general, optional and constitutional home rule.

Nine cities have adopted the manager statute. None have abandoned it. Only four cities ever adopted the commission plan. The two largest, Omaha and Lincoln, adopted the plan in 1911 and 1912, respectively, but each of these has since adopted a home rule charter.[1] Only Nebraska City (6,872) will continue with the statutory commission plan, which it adopted in 1912.

In Beatrice, proposals for adoption of the council-manager statute were defeated by the voters in recent years. In 1948, furthermore, a charter convention was called, but the proposed home rule charter, providing for a strong mayor government, was defeated when put to a vote on September 15, 1949.

The new government will be effective after the spring 1954 elections. There will be a mayor and at least eight councilmen (there are three commissioners at present) since the statutes provide for two councilmen from each of at least four wards. The statutes also require election of the treasurer, clerk and police magistrate.

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[1]Omaha has commission government under home rule. Grand Island, the third largest city, also has home rule, with a manager plan.

Provision is made for a water commissioner, but his functions will be performed by an appointed board of public works which exists already by ordinance. Under the general operation of an appointed manager, this board supervises the municipal water and electric utility systems. As the result of a referendum proposal adopted at the November 1952 election, the board will take on added functions over streets, sidewalks, sewers and bridges. Finally, there is an airport board and a park board, each appointive. Thus, the city will not have a unified administration.

One little used provision in the statute may become a local issue, and it may be used to approach some degree of unity. The council may by ordinance provide for a manager. The mayor, indeed, may also be the manager but, if he is not, then the appointed manager may hold "any other appointive office." The appointive officers specifically include the city engineer, attorney, street commissioner—whose functions have been transferred to the board of public works—chief of police, fire chief and city physician. It is possible, therefore, that the manager of the present board of public works could be appointed also as "city manager" within the meaning of the statute, holding one or more of these appointive offices, plus any others established by ordinance.

Perhaps before too many years will have passed another opportunity will be presented for the people of Beatrice to express their preference for the unified manager plan.

A. C. Breckenridge
University of Nebraska

Revision Seen for Bicameral Charter

In Springfield, Massachusetts, one of the eight remaining cities with two legislative bodies, a poll of elected officials by the *Springfield Union* on the question of charter revision showed that Mayor Daniel B. Brunton and nearly three quarters of the bicameral council favor some amount of revision. The mayor, four aldermen and five councilmen incline to a basic change —to either a council-manager or a strong-mayor form of government. Springfield now has a weak mayor form with a board of eight aldermen and a common council of eighteen members.

Mayor Brunton advocates the strong-mayor form—Plan A of the optional statutory forms. The Springfield Taxpayers' Association, the League of Women Voters and the Plan D Committee prefer Plan D, a council-manager form.

Atlanta to Have Single Council

Atlanta, Georgia, heretofore reported as one of the few remaining cities with two legislative chambers,[1] will lose that dubious distinction on January 5, 1954, according to the Governmental Affairs Department of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. The city charter was amended by an act approved February 15, 1952, which substitutes for the present board of aldermen (nine members) and the board of councilmen (eighteen members) a single board of aldermen consisting of two members from each of eight wards. A new officer, president of the board of aldermen, will be elected at large. Each alderman must reside in the ward he is supposed to represent, but all are elected by a city-wide vote for four-year terms. An alderman will receive $2,400 per annum; the president of the board $3,-

[1] See editorial, "And Then There Were Nine," the Review, December 1952.

600. The first election will be this year.

Effective at the same time is a reduction in membership of the board of education from eighteen (two from each of nine wards) to nine (one from each of eight wards, plus one elected at large).

San Antonio Adds 80 Square Miles

San Antonio, Texas, has annexed 80 square miles of territory, with about 40,000 population, in order to prevent several fringe communities from incorporating as independent towns, the American Society of Planning Officials reports. By gaining control of the fringe area, the San Antonio Planning Commission hopes to block the growth of slums that have been developing just outside the city limits.

With the addition, San Antonio now has a total area of 154 square miles and a population of 455,000.

Louisville Announces Personnel Policy

Following a ruling by the Kentucky Court of Appeals that it would be illegal for the city of Louisville to enter into collective bargaining contracts, the city issued a policy statement governing employee-management relations, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The statement covers all employees except professional, supervisory, clerical and fire and police personnel. The basic purpose of the policy is to provide a means of giving employees an opportunity to present their views, both individually and through representatives of their choice, without abrogating the responsibilities required of the city by law. It describes the rules governing hours of work, wages, leave, overtime, holidays and vacations. It also explains the terms under which employees may organize, be represented during grievance procedures or discussions regarding conditions of work, and hold elections to determine the union which represents a majority of the employees.

AMA Stresses Problem of Metropolitan Areas

The American Municipal Association, at its annual American Municipal Congress in Los Angeles, declared that "the problems of the metropolitan areas have increased at an alarming rate during the past decade and threaten to strangle the political, economic and social life of American metropolitan cities." It called for vigorous action by the agencies of government most directly affected by the problems of such areas.

A Committee on Metropolitan Areas was established by the association to undertake a comprehensive research program of the major problems of metropolitan areas. The committee was directed to draft a program designed "to strengthen local municipal government in metropolitan areas and solve the problems created by growth, overlapping governmental jurisdiction and existing laws."

In a resolution on temporary defense housing in cities, the association said the "federal standards, including density of population, provision of adequate play space, off-street parking, and other matters related to reasonable living, should be evolved and applied to those projects which are to continue for the duration of the emergency."

Community Planning Explored in Arizona

The first Arizona Community Planning Conference was held on the University of Arizona campus December 12-13, with city and county officials

of the state in attendance. The program included panel discussions on parking, zoning, parks and recreation, and the legal basis of planning. Charles B. Bennett, director of planning for Los Angeles, stressed the need for vigorous planning by Arizona's rapidly growing cities, and John Beatty, Phoenix planning director, in summarizing the work of the two-day session pointed out the importance of amending the state's 10 per cent budget limitation,[1] annexation and other laws which interfere with the implementation of plans for city and county development.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Study Made of New York Primaries

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This study is based on the August 21, 1951, primary elections in New York State. Elections in 1951, as in other odd-numbered years, were chiefly local. Mr. Bell's study (of which this represents excerpts) utilized the results of questionnaires, supplemented by newspapers, while the author was with Champlain College, Plattsburgh, New York.

It is commonly stated that the direct primary, while a valuable advance in democratic procedure, has failed to bring about a political millenium. Certainly, if its advocates in New York expected the primary to break the grip of established political organizations, they have been sadly disappointed. This study indicates that the application of the term "deserted"[2] is aptly descriptive of most primary elections in New York.

Primary elections in New York State are of the closed variety and used only for certain offices. Candidates to run on a statewide ticket—governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, state comptroller, U. S. senator and judges of the Court of Appeals—are nominated in conventions. The candidates for justices of the Supreme Court are also nominated by conventions which are held in each of ten judicial districts. However, candidates for U. S. representative, state senator, state assemblyman and all elective county and city offices are nominated by direct primary. Candidates for village and town office are nominated in some cases by primary but in most cases by a caucus open to all enrolled voters of the party.

While the state as a whole is fairly well balanced between Democrats and Republicans, the center of Democratic voting strength (hence, leadership in the state organization) is in New York City. The rest of the state, with a few exceptions, is heavily Republican, so that in many counties the winner of the Republican primary is almost certain of victory in the general election. As is to be expected, most contests for county positions were within the Republican party, while the Democrats had no candidates in the primary for at least one-fouth of the positions up for election and in seven counties had no names at all on the ballot.

A study of the data reveals that in both major parties there were few contests for nomination for county office. Even in the Republican primaries there were contests for only 6.8 per cent of the positions to be filled. The Democrats, who have little incentive for nomination, had contests for only 1.2 per cent of the positions.

Data were also obtained on primary nominations for the office of mayor in cities. Here we find more contests

[1]The limit of increase is 10 per cent of the budgeted expenditures of the preceding year.

[2]See "The Deserted Primary in Iowa," by Kirk Porter. *American Political Science Review,* August 1945, pages 732-740.

than for county positions. Out of 49 cities, in ten (20.4 per cent) there were contests in the Republican primary and in five (10.2 per cent) in the Democratic, together comprising 28.8 per cent of the cities.

In the counties the office for which there were most contests was that of sheriff: out of 23 counties the Republicans had three contests, or 13 per cent, and the Democrats two, 8.7 per cent, for a total of 21.7 per cent. Thus, while the contesting of nominations is found more frequently in cities, primary battles, whether city or county, are found in only a small percentage of the elections.

New York City Primaries

In New York City the situation is much the same. There were fifteen vacancies for various judicial positions throughout the five counties within the city, and for only one of these was there a contest. This was in the Democratic party. There were two nominations for district attorney to be made, and for one of these there was a Republican contest. The only city-wide office at stake was that of president of city council, and for this there was no contest in either party.

The lack of contests in most elections throughout the state may be attributed chiefly to the fact that the party organizations of the two major parties are comparatively strong. There are few cases of definite factional splits within either party. The contests that did occur were probably, in most cases, because of personality factors rather than factional disputes. This probability is best indicated by the fact that the thirteen contested primaries were spread over eleven counties.

The idea behind the closed primary is, of course, that the rank-and-file members of the party shall select the candidates to run in the general election. However, the accepted system in New York is that the county committee (in the case of county elections) draws up a slate of candidates, which will then be placed on the primary ballot by petition. Any person seeking office goes to a county committeeman, especially the chairman, to obtain designation. If not selected by the county committee, the office-seeker generally accepts the committee's decision in order not to prejudice his chances of consideration in the future.

For many county positions it is not a case of the man seeking the job; rather, the committee seeks a man who will consent to run. The fact that there were more contests for mayoralty nominations in cities is probably because of the greater desirability of that position as compared to most county positions. Even for mayor, however, the organization-selected candidates were unopposed nearly 80 per cent of the time in one party, 90 per cent in the other, indicating widespread acceptance of the organization's decision. Undoubtedly beneath-the-surface tensions exist, and threats of contests are made, but the interests of party harmony usually prevail at some point prior to the deadline for filing primary petitions.

This suggests, then, that in New York the primary has not resulted in a breakdown of established party leadership. After the county committee decides the party's nominees, the enrolled party member is satisfied to assent to those decisions, or at least he is seldom sufficiently dissatisfied to go to the trouble of organizing an opposition that would have some chance of success.

Obviously, in most cases where there is only one candidate for nomination, there is little or no campaigning and little or no publicity, and primary day can slip by with but small

newspaper or radio coverage. Under these circumstances voters can hardly be blamed for failing to realize that the polls are open, and even if they do realize it there is no incentive to induce them to go. Thus, in the Republican primaries only about one-fifth of the enrolled party members voted, but in a majority of counties with a Republican contest over half of those enrolled voted.

It is interesting to speculate about the effect the existence of the state convention system has on county party organization. The feeling of necessity for cooperation, for getting on the bandwagon, is definitely present in state politics, and it is possible that this feeling would be minimized if a statewide primary were used. On the other hand, strong state organizations are traditional in New York, and such traditions are not easily overcome. The presence of a strong state organization would render difficult a successful campaign for nomination under independent auspices. Organization is the key to success in primaries, and as long as strong leadership is present the organization can control most nominations regardless of the nominating process used. But the primary allows, far more than the convention, the possibility of successful revolt backed by substantial numbers of party members and, therefore, no matter how much or little it is used for this purpose, it remains an important part of New York's democratic process.

GEORGE A. BELL
University of Michigan

Columbia River Interstate Commission Organizes

Boise, Idaho, has been selected for the headquarters of the Columbia River Interstate Compact Commission, which has been authorized to negotiate a compact between Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming concerning use of waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

Business Executives Polled on Civil Service Problems

The National Civil Service League has conducted a poll of 200 business executives, who have held high-level government posts in recent years, concerning inadequacies of federal personnel administration and ways of correcting them. A committee of the league made five recommendations based on the results of the poll:

1. Reorganize the entire federal civil service system, including the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Appoint an administrator with ample experience in government and industrial personnel work as chairman, then reorient the personnel system around the doctrine that it is not merely to guard against the spoils system but is primarily to bring into government the most advanced administrative techniques and the most efficient personnel.

2. The president should make the efficiency of federal personnel his own responsibility, with dynamic backing of the Civil Service Commission and the maintenance of close liaison with the chairman of the commission and the civil service committees in Congress.

3. A clear-cut, unified personnel policy should be formulated to supersede red tape that now presents a major barrier to efficient administration.

4. Government should adopt the executive and supervisory training programs which private industry has used so successfully. It should also make use of orientation and on-the-job training programs and establish provisions for workers in government

(Continued on page 108)

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Philadelphia Merger Problems Studied

Commission Makes Report on Consolidation of Functions

THE Philadelphia Advisory Consolidation Commission, an eleven-member, bipartisan agency created by the city council to study and report on problems of merging the county and city offices, recently issued its tentative proposals relating to thirteen city and county agencies. It recommends abolition of the board of revision of taxes, clerk of quarter sessions, coroner,[1] inspectors of county prison, recorder of deeds, sheriff, city commissioners and registration commission. Their functions would be transferred to other agencies.

It proposes further that the city treasurer be no longer elected but be appointed by the finance commissioner and that the register of wills be appointed by the judges of orphans' court rather than elected. New agencies recommended in the report include a board of trustees of Philadelphia prisons in the welfare department, a chief assessor under the director of finance and a popularly-elected board of elections.

After hearings on the report, the commission will review it, put it into final form and submit it to the city council for consideration and possible action.

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research has issued a 28-page report on *The Problem of Completing City-county Consolidation,* prepared by Leigh B. Hebb, a staff member. It outlines the "general scope and problems of city-county consolidation and describes briefly the agencies in Philadelphia's local government which appear to come within the compass of consolidation."

Court Rulings Asked

A new case has been appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court requesting a further interpretation of the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment to the constitution, approved by the voters in November 1951. In an early case, when newly elected county officers attempted to remove an employee in the sheriff's office in January 1952, the employee sued on the ground that because of the consolidation she was protected by the merit provisions of the city home rule charter. Upon appeal, the Supreme Court supported this contention in the Carrow decision.

In the current case before the Supreme Court, the board of revision and the registration commission contend they are state, not county, agencies, but if they are found to be in the latter category, they declare the home rule charter specifically exempts agencies engaged in functions such as they perform. Two other officials, the prothonotary and the register of wills, claim to be exempt both on the grounds that they are judicial officers and that there is specific provision for them elsewhere in the constitution. Still other county agencies are requesting a reversal of the Carrow decision. It is expected that decisions in these matters will be rendered shortly.

[1]See also item below.

Philadelphia Coroner May Be Abolished

A bill has been prepared for introduction into the 1953 Pennsylvania

legislature providing for abolition of the elective office of coroner in the county of Philadelphia (which is coterminous with the city) and substituting a medical examiner. The latter would be a physician and pathologist appointed by the managing director of the city, with approval of the mayor, from a list of candidates supplied by the deans of the several medical schools in the county. He would be certified by the American Board of Pathologists and have special training in forensic medicine. The coroner's functions of a legal nature would be distributed to the prosecuting attorney and the courts. The bill has the support of the Clinical Pathology Section of the County Medical Society, the Pathological Society of Philadelphia and the Medico-Legal Committee of the City Bar Association.

One Government for Atlanta Area Urged

A county commissioner of Fulton County, Georgia, in a recent speech before the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, urged consolidation of the city and Fulton County into a single unit of government. He emphasized that present duplication in tax departments, public works and school systems could be eliminated by such consolidation. Many other functions of the city and county have already been consolidated.[1]

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

The board of supervisors of Fresno County, California, has appointed a 25-member county study committee to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan, which has been recommended by two successive county grand juries.

A newly elected board of supervisors of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, has appointed the city clerk of Phoenix to the top administrative position in the county. The move is regarded as the first step toward the county manager plan.

New Attempt to Abolish Bi-county Agency

The delegation in the Maryland state legislature from Montgomery County has announced its intention to reintroduce legislation abolishing the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission and transferring its functions to Montgomery and Prince George's Counties. Similar legislation failed to be reported from committee in 1947, 1949 and 1951.

The Montgomery County council is seeking legislation to permit it to name two members on the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission.

Maryland Metropolitan Area to Be Studied

A joint study of the commercial potentialities of the area embraced by the two counties is being undertaken by the governing boards of Prince George's and Montgomery Counties, Maryland. The cost of the economic survey, estimated at $25,000, will be borne approximately one-third each by the two counties and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

Improvements Sought in Prince George's County

The Prince George's County commissioners are seeking legislation to create a unified department of finance, to establish a county merit system, to transfer control of the library sys-

[1]See "Atlanta Pioneers in Merger," by Lynwood M. Holland, the REVIEW, April 1952, page 182.

tem from the state to the county and to extend more home rule to the county in other matters.

South Dakota County Absorbed

Armstrong County, South Dakota, recently was annexed to Dewey County. It had no local government and, according to the 1950 census, it contained 52 inhabitants.

According to a report in *Business Week*, it was an old-fashioned farming area, among the richest in South Dakota, with few modern improvements; roads consisted of Indian trails.

The number of counties in the United States now stands at 3,048.

San Diego County Surveys Employee Attitudes

A survey by county authorities reveals that employees of San Diego County, California, like their jobs better than they did in 1949, when a similar survey was conducted. However, they are not as proud to tell people where they work as they were in 1949. A plausible interpretation of these answers is that, although the county is now a better employer, recent unfavorable publicity regarding the federal service has caused employees to feel a lowering in prestige of all public service.

Employees ranked the various aspects of their jobs in the following order of importance: security, interesting work, pay, good physical working conditions, promotion on merit, and credit and recognition for work done. This ranking constituted no change from order in which the factors were rated in 1949.

Arlington City Again Proposed

The Arlington County, Virginia, Civic Federation has proposed that the county board create a charter commission to attempt again to change the county to a city.[1] It declared that the plan rejected by the voters last November was inadequate.

Tennessee City and County Officials Confer

The Tennessee Municipal League reports that close relationships have been developed with county officials on road and street financing and other common problems. A standing committee on city-county cooperation has met with similar committees of the County Highway Association and the County Judges Association on several occasions. The league states that its policy is based on the assumption that the great threat to local government is not competition between cities and counties for revenues and powers but the growing tendency of state and federal governments to absorb the taxpaying capacity of people and the functions of government.

Women's League Urges County Planning

The League of Women Voters of Howard County, Maryland, has initiated a series of forums on the need for and the various aspects of county planning.

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 572.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New York Struggles to Balance Budget

State Cool to Requests of City for New Revenue

ONE OF the most unpalatable—and possibly most ineffectual—revenue proposals ever cooked up for presentation to a skeptical legislature was transmitted by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri to the New York General Assembly when it opened in January. Designed to produce something on the order of $170,000,000 new revenue to balance the 1953-54 city budget, and an additional $100,000,000 or so to meet estimated additional needs through 1957-58, the proposals embraced nearly every imaginable device from the juggling of tax collection dates to amendment of the state constitution to permit higher property tax levies.

The largest increase in requirements for the new year is for the transit deficit, estimated to amount to about $45,000,000 for 1953-54. The obvious way to meet this problem is to raise fares on the city-owned subways and bus lines above their present ten-cent level—which is the lowest among large United States cities. Mayoral elections are due in 1953, however, and the ten-cent fare is sacrosanct politically—or so the city administration believes.

Device number one proposed by the city, therefore, is to sweeten up a future fare increase by dedicating new, non-revenue receipts to the transit operating budget. (To meet all transit charges from revenues, inclusive of debt service, is regarded by even the most optimistic as requiring a fare much beyond the realm of possibility.)

The formula proposed is to have riders meet 60 per cent of operating costs through their fares, real estate to bear 20 per cent of the cost in general property taxes and "business" to meet 20 per cent of the cost through a "transit tax" to be levied on business net income at rates ranging from ½ of 1 per cent to 2 per cent. The administration calculates that the present ten-cent fare will meet the riders' share under this formula.

Budget increases for non-transit purposes are estimated by the mayor to require for 1953-54 some $126,500,000 in new revenues. Roundly $73,000,000 of this total represents increases in appropriations, with the remainder replacements for money raised by various devices for 1952-53 and not available hereafter. A change in the city sales tax collection date, for example, produced about $30,000,000 for 1952-53 which will not be available hereafter, while double collection of auto use taxes and liquor license taxes yielded $11,500,000 which will not again be available. Use of these expedients has caught up with the city, but their failure to solve the basic problems involved has not prevented the city suggesting similar devices to finance 1953-54 needs.

The new revenue program for non-transit purposes submitted by the mayor contains proposals estimated to produce a total of $218,700,000 above receipts otherwise available. Of this total, $62,700,000 is increased state aid, $40,000,000 is to be raised by moving up the payment dates of the state per capita grant, $49,000,000 is to be secured by increasing the tax rate limit or, alternatively, by a "county" tax to be authorized by the legislature, $25,000,000 is to be raised by a tax on the sale or transfer of securities,

$20,000,000 is to be gotten by including real estate sales in transactions taxable under the city sales tax, and the remainder is to come from various miscellaneous sources.

None of the potential taxpayers tapped by the mayor's program has responded with joy to the proposals, and some groups promise to register stiff opposition. The business net income tax and the securities sales or transfer taxes have drawn fire from business and financial spokesmen, and the real estate groups have already begun their campaign against the proposal to raise or evade the tax rate limit.

Property Tax Limit

The property tax proposal, in fact, illustrates the sketchy nature of the whole body of suggestions. Taxes, except for debt service, are presently limited to not exceeding 2 per cent of the average assessed valuation of the five preceding years by the state constitution. The proposal to raise the limit to 2½ per cent requires adoption of a constitutional amendment by two successive state legislatures and its ratification by the voters. The proposed amendment was passed by the 1952 legislature, but to continue on its way must be passed again by the 1953 legislature, before it can be submitted to the voters in November. Even if adopted, the amendment would not become effective before January 1, 1954, by which time half of fiscal 1953-54 will have transpired.

To provide for the contingency that the amendment raising the tax rate limit is not submitted, or if submitted not adopted, the city proposes alternatively that the legislature by statute authorize the levying of a county general property tax, a proposal more obnoxious to some real estate spokesmen than the proposal to increase the tax rate limit.

Also requiring special legislation is the city's proposed treatment of the transit deficit. The mayor's proposal included the setting up of a "transit authority" to take over responsibility of the operation of the subways and city-owned bus lines, and its subsidization as outlined above with general property taxes and proceeds of a tax on business income. The city would continue as at present to meet transit debt requirements from general property taxes.

While the suggested device would lack the essential characteristic of an "authority" in its presently accepted meaning in the United States—that characteristic being that the authority is entirely dependent for its financing on fees and charges made incidental to the sale of its services, and without the power to levy taxes—the idea of separating the transit operation from other city activities has been gaining ground among civic and other groups. In mid-January the Citizens Budget Commission, a civic organization, suggested that the authority idea might be utilized acceptably provided there was set up a mandatory schedule of diminishing subsidy for the annual operating expense. They proposed that the schedule for underwriting the enterprise from taxes be such that by 1958-59 transit would stand entirely on its own feet, except for debt service.

The city would continue to meet, from general property taxes, service on outstanding transit debt and on such additional debt as might be approved by the city board of estimate and apportionment within the $500,000,000 limit exempt under the constitution in figuring the city's borrowing capacity. Proponents of the authority idea in general believe that it will remove the ten-cent fare from the realm of politics, since all proposals so far advanced envision an organizational structure placing responsibility for fixing the

fare on the authority rather than on the mayor and board of estimate.

Most of the remainder of the city's proposals are also dependent entirely on the enactment of permissive legislation by the state. The development of a long-range financial program prior to the meeting of the 1953 legislature had been a condition under which the Republican-controlled state administration had acquiesced in the enactment of the 1952 stop-gap measures which permitted the balancing on paper of the 1952-53 city budget, but the city administration failed to prepare or announce any such program in the remaining months of the year and the mayor's recommendations and requests were not submitted until the eve of the legislature's opening. Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in fact, reportedly did not receive the mayor's requests until his message to the legislature had been printed the night prior to its delivery, and the New York City requests consequently got a chilly reception in both executive offices and legislative chambers. It was not until the second week in the session that Democratic sponsors were lined up for the city bills. Most of the measures seemed likely to go through in one form or another, however, notwithstanding their evident shortcomings and the city's tardiness in formulating its proposals.

Courts Halt Jersey City Payroll Tax

Efforts of Jersey City, New Jersey, to secure an estimated $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 by levying a payroll tax beginning January 1, 1953, were thwarted on the last business day of the old year when Superior Court Judge Haydn Proctor granted an injunction staying collection of the tax until its constitutionality has been determined.

The proposed tax would have imposed a "license fee" of ¾ of 1 per cent on the payrolls of manufacturing concerns in Jersey City, and "license fees" at varying percentages on most other types of businesses, for establishments with gross receipts in excess of $20,000 annually. Proceeds of the tax would have permitted some reductions in the city's tax rate for 1953, an election year.

Buffalo Subsidizes Parking with Tax Exemption

Acting under an old statute applicable only to itself, Buffalo recently adopted an ordinance granting tax exemption to buildings constructed, altered and remodeled to provide off-street parking. According to the American Municipal Association, the exemption applies to general property taxes only, not to special assessments, and is to run for a period of fifteen years following completion of the parking structure. The exemption will not apply to the land, only to the building improvement.

To qualify for exemptions, buildings must have a minimum capacity for parking 150 cars. At least 75 per cent of the floor area must be used exclusively for off-street automobile parking. In structures not used entirely for parking, exemption is proportionate to the percentage of parking area to the total. Another provision is that construction or remodeling must be completed by December 31, 1955.

This unique tax exemption is the result of a recent amendment to a 1927 city ordinance authorized under a state law granting cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population power to exempt such buildings from taxation. The state law apparently was written specifically for Buffalo, since it is the only city in New York able to qualify.

Students Try 'Fieldwork in Politics'

University of Minnesota Conducts Unique Course

EDITOR'S NOTE—The story below is reprinted from *Minnesota Chats*, "A Quarterly for Parents of University of Minnesota Students," for October 1952.

ALL during October, fourteen University [of Minnesota] students were out interviewing candidates for the state legislature, helping them in their campaigns, ringing door-bells, addressing envelopes and writing up a running account of their activities. They are students in Fieldwork in Politics, a unique course in political parties which has no textbook or final exam.

Aimed at giving students a working understanding of political organization at the local level, the course is taught by Arthur E. Naftalin, associate professor of political science. The students meet once a week for class discussion, but the main part of their work is spent "in the field" and writing three long papers summarizing what they have actually learned about a specific candidate, a pressure group and a single committee in the state legislature.

At the beginning of the quarter each of the fourteen students chose a candidate he could willingly support for election to the state legislature. Then he had to scour the candidate's district and find out all about it—its minority and nationality groups, income levels, past voting records.

"It's amazing," says Professor Naftalin, "how quickly the students get a full sense of the district's political set up."

Then the students concentrated on the candidates themselves. "The candidates see these are honest students who aren't trying to 'throw any curves,'" says Naftalin, "And they're usually delighted at the chance to get volunteer help."

While students don't ordinarily become full-fledged campaign managers they *have* done everything else—from writing publicity releases and licking envelopes to arranging meetings and soliciting votes door-to-door.

By the end of October each student will have found out all about his candidate in a series of interviews—even down to some pertinent details of his private life (married? income? children? summer home?)—and particularly his stand on major campaign issues.

After digging up all this information, each student faces the job of finding out who is backing his candidate financially, what publicity techniques are used in the campaign, who helped run the show.

After the fateful first Tuesday in November an election post-mortem is held, and each student tries to estimate why his man won or lost, how the campaign could have been improved, and in what districts the candidate showed greatest and least strength. All this hard-gleaned information will be summarized in a written report prepared by each student with the aid of a long question sheet designed by Naftalin.

Next on the class agenda is the study of a special interest or pressure group — whether it be conservation, education or mental health, the American Legion or the Minnesota Wine and Spirits Institute. Student reports on this project will discuss the

history, organization, financing, publicity and lobbying techniques of their pet pressure groups.

By winter quarter the Minnesota state legislature will have begun its sessions. The third and final big assignment will be to choose a particular committee of the legislature and follow its treatment of a specific bill —when possible one in which the student's pressure group has a direct interest.

Watching the Legislature

"I tell the class to beat it over to the Capitol to attend the opening session and committee caucuses and clip newspaper accounts of legislation and procedure," says Naftalin with a grin. "These kids are all the time on streetcars to the Capitol and back. They sit in on all meetings of their committee; they get to know most of the legislators by name and even strike up brief friendships with Capitol guards. In this way they get a sense of committee functioning you just can't get from books."

After many treks to St. Paul, plus some sober thought, the students write reports which are not debates on the pros and cons of the bill but outlines of how a bill gets to be a law. Who introduces it and how? How is it referred to committee? How is it brought to the floor and what action is taken on it?

The actual class sessions are conducted round-robin style, with each student sharing his experiences. Occasionally, guest lecturers from the major parties talk to the class.

"Though this is a practical course in politics, naturally some theoretical questions are bound to develop out of the fieldwork," says Naftalin. "We discuss these at length in class. Questions like: how much should representatives reflect their constituents' opinions and how much should they consult their own convictions? How much power should a majority have? How have press, radio and television influenced legislation?

The students in past years have continued going to legislative sessions long after the course is over in March. In fact, many of them have continued their interest in politics and even run for office after taking this course. But its purpose, Naftalin makes it clear, is not to create or recruit candidates.

Naftalin himself tries to keep the course nonpartisan. He makes it plain that he himself is a Democrat and has participated extensively in politics—formerly as secretary to Hubert Humphrey, now as vice chairman of the Hennepin County Democratic-Farmer-Labor party.

However, the fairness with which he teaches the course was noted in a recent nation-wide survey of university courses in practical politics. The authors of this report to the Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the New York University Law Center, [Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed] say, "It is significant to record that all present and former students [in Political Science 51-52] interviewed agreed that the professor's well known political views did not in the least interfere with the conduct of the course. Those who were Republicans testified specifically to the fairness with which they and their political views were treated."

Although all students interviewed for this survey said the course took more time than any other they had taken at the university, many of them said it was the most valuable. "The fact that students will give up so much of their leisure time to political participation," the report concludes, "is an indication of how strong a hold such courses as this can get on those

who take them." The report adds that Professor Naftalin's course "applies the fieldwork idea more thoroughly than any other course we have observed."

Citizens and Legislatures

The Citizens Union of New York City, in announcing its legislative program for 1953, states that because of recent developments the organization will concentrate this session on election reforms and party organization controls. "The shocking revelations of the State Crime Commission as to underworld influences and improper political practices," says Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union, "should make it possible this time to enact some of the remedies which the Citizens Union has long advocated." Among the matters the union will stress are permanent personal registration, direct election of district leaders and changing the primary date from summer to spring.

As a handy reference, the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, has issued with its December *Civic Bulletin* a list of federal and state legislative officials for Allegheny County.

"Legislative Preview—1953" is the headline for December's *Facts*, published by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. Discussed are three problems which the league would like to see the legislature do something about: improvement of election processes, revision of the Fulton County budget law, and home rule for Atlanta. Senators and representatives for the Atlanta area, with addresses, are listed.

Bait for the Voter

Coffee and cakes were served at the January council meeting in Pine Hills, New Jersey, in an attempt to attract a greater attendance of voters. Result —75 persons present instead of the usual two or three, largest number ever to appear at a regular session. In an effort to get even greater attendance, Mayor Wilfred T. Forrest announces a change of council meetings from Wednesday evenings to Mondays so as not to compete with popular radio and television programs. The refreshments, to be continued, are served by the Parent-Teachers Association.

Court System Discussed

Revision of the Illinois Judicial System was the topic of the discussion at the December meeting of the Illinois Civic Exchange—"a medium through which civic organizations of Illinois exchange information and conduct joint investigations of public issues." Professor Rubin G. Cohn, of the University of Illinois' law faculty, stated the problem and presented suggestions for change. He pointed out that the present organization of the courts is substantially the same as set forth in the 1848 constitution—over a hundred years old. Others who discussed the matter were Judge Walter T. Gunn and State Senator George Drach. General discussion followed. Loren M. Bobbitt, of the Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau, presided.

Tokyo's Citizenship Day

Tokyo's Metropolitan Assembly has passed two bills dealing with citizenship. One names October 1 as Citizenship Day. This date commemorates the first public election, October 1, 1897, for the governing heads of the cities of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, previously appointed by the national government. The other ordinance provides an "appreciation of distinguished services rendered by those who have made substantial contributions toward the progress of culture in community and the enlightenment of the whole

citizens." Such distinguished citizens will be given the title of "Honorary Citizen of Tokyo Metropolis."

Plan Spring Campaign

The Citizens Charter Association of Dallas, Texas, plans to present a strong ticket of council nominees at the April city election. The ticket will be pledged to support the present form of city government—the council-manager plan.

Preparation for Politics

Six colleges and universities sent delegates to an all-day conference held at the Law Center of New York University November 8, 1952. They discussed their individual courses and methods to promote more effective preparation of college students for participation in politics after graduation. Represented were Allegheny College, Pennsylvania State College for Women, Ohio Wesleyan University, Hamline University, Boston University and Washington Square College of New York University. Each of these schools conducts programs to aid in the training of college students for political responsibilities under grants of funds from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh, says the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University, which also receives such a grant.

New Bulletin

The first monthly *Bulletin* of the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University appeared in December. It "presents a medium for exchanging information on the preparation of college men and women for participation in the affairs of the major political parties. In addition it provides notes on projects in which the Citizenship Clearing House is directly involved as well as programs and courses on practical politics developed in colleges and universities throughout the nation. The *Bulletin* will report examples of college students actively and successfully participating in party politics."

Citizen Planning Conferences

For the first time in its history, reports the American Planning and Civic Association, its annual conference will be held in New Orleans. Dates are March 11-14, with headquarters at the St. Charles Hotel. The program will "highlight the problems of population growth into far-flung metropolitan and regional areas. . . . It is generally recognized that we must find a way to plan and to administer the physical development of entire metropolitan regions and to provide county planning before the counties repeat the mistakes of the crowded cities," reports *Planning and Civic Comment,* organ of the association, for December. Special emphasis will be placed on plans and projects in the south. Planners, members of planning commissions and leaders and members of citizens' organizations are expected to attend the conference.

The St. Louis Metropolitan Plan Association and Washington University together sponsored a conference on metropolitan problems. Meeting November 14 at the university, the conference discussed many planning problems besetting the area—economic and governmental relations, traffic and transportation, sewers and drainage, etc. The dinner session stressed citizen participation in solving metropolitan problems. Leland Hazard, vice chairman, and Park Martin, executive director, of the Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Conference on Community Development, described how citizens and officials of Pittsburgh work together to solve local problems.

Fiscal Problems Confront 1953 Lawmakers

Major Sources for State Revenues Are Inspected

THREE recent reports reflect the types of finance questions confronting state legislatures this year and also reflect three of the sources of studied criticism and advice active in this field today. From Pennsylvania, Indiana and Kansas have come reports on state expenditures, revenues and fiscal organization, published by a state chamber of commerce, a governmental commission and a university research bureau. Additional reports from a labor organization, a southern and a western state would be necessary before a minimum "cross section" could be claimed for purposes of comparison.

In a reprint of three speeches presented during its annual meeting, *Pennsylvania's Fiscal Problems and Some Possible Solutions* (Harrisburg, 1952, 36 pages), the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce comments on that state's expenditures, taxation system and government organization. They are concerned with "the exceedingly large share of the tax burden borne by business"—42 per cent of all state tax collections—and indicate clearly their belief that either a personal income tax or a retail sales tax must be adopted to meet anticipated increases in expenditures during the next biennium. A few statistics are presented in connection with this conclusion, although no choice between the alternatives is made. The pamphlet states frankly that "the primary consideration in selecting sources of additional revenue in Pennsylvania is whether the levy is likely to precipitate the flight, to a contiguous state, of the citizenry, property or activity subject to tax."

The possibilities for changes in Indiana's taxation system are subjected to lengthy analysis and comment in *Report of the Tax Study Commission, 1952, Tax Policy in Indiana* (Indianapolis, Indiana Tax Study Commission, 1952, 177 pages), prepared with the aid of staff from Indiana University and Princeton Surveys. Expressing satisfaction with Indiana's situation in comparison with other state and local jurisdictions examined, the commission feels that, "Any important changes in the tax structure, further burdening the economy, will clearly alter the relation unfavorably." As in the Pennsylvania report, business problems again receive great emphasis, and the commission concludes, "It is of the utmost importance to maintain Indiana's tax position as compared to competing industrial states, and any adjustments in rate or structure must give this position first consideration."

Incidentally, the Indiana group gives brief consideration to the retail sales tax and the net income tax in comparison with that state's present gross income tax and finds there is little reason for abandoning the existing tax. It does recommend that individual cities and towns be permitted to levy a limited surtax on their state gross income taxpayers and that it be collected through state facilities.

In its bulletin, *Your Government* (Lawrence, December 15, 1952, four pages), the University of Kansas Governmental Research Center calls attention to the measures for comprehensive reorganization of state fiscal administration that will appear in the

1953 legislature. The Commission on State Administrative Organization, appointed in 1950, devoted five months of study in great part to the handling of state finances. Certain of its recommendations were turned down in the 1951 legislature and the governor appointed a five-man committee to advise a division of administration created in the governor's office to continue the studies. This year's proposals, recommending the creation of a department of administration, with budgeting, accounting, reporting, purchasing and personnel divisions, and a department of post-audit, are the result of that study in which the University Governmental Research Center participated.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Southern Conference Explores Income Tax Payments

The bureaus of business research of seven southern universities and the Tennessee Valley Authority, with assistance from six other universities, three federal reserve banks and various government offices, during three years have been studying how to estimate the incomes of individuals by counties. They have published such estimates for 1939, 1947 and 1950 in *Conference on the Measurement of County Income, A Report of Three Years of Work,* by James W. Martin (Lexington, Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, 1952, eleven pages).

These basic tabulations should prove invaluable to many researchers, as should the additional projects which have grown out of these studies at the seven universities: market analyses, examinations of the "balance between sources of income," labor supply problems and so on.

Perhaps just as important is the degree of cooperation between institutions that has been developed in these projects, particularly through the use of the "seminar" device for interchange of ideas. The name of the conference has recently been changed to Southeastern Economic Research Conference.

One of the individual studies resulting from the project is *Paducah and McCracken County Revenue Base,* by James W. Martin (Frankfort, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky, 1952, eleven pages). This report "is deliberately confined to analyzing the level of assessments and the extent to which they are geared to providing a fair tax base."

A second study of the Paducah area has also recently been issued: *Paducah and Western Kentucky Income, Labor and Retail Trade Patterns,* by Frank G. Coolsen, Will S. Myers, and James W. Martin (Frankfort, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky, 1952, 73 pages. Data is presented concerning income of residents, labor market conditions and retail trade movement for recent years. The authors feel that, "With the results of this survey, the civic leaders, public administrators and businessmen of Paducah have a practical tool for formulating their judgments respecting a master plan for Paducah and a sound program for continued economic betterment." These two studies of western Kentucky are aimed at meeting the obvious need to plan the use of resources where vast atomic plant developments are under way today.

Hawaiian Tax Study

In *The Tax System of Hawaii* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1952, 206 pages $2.50), Robert M. Kamins, associate professor of economics at the University of Hawaii, has provided a useful, well annotated and illustrated study of the problems

of finance of this Territory which may well become the 49th state. The author points out that the Islands have a tax system unusually uniform for an American area and that these taxes have yielded revenues sufficient to keep the net public debt low in postwar years (approximately $139 per capita in 1951). On the other hand, he finds serious shortcomings: too heavy a load on low-income groups; too many local producers placed at a disadvantage in competing with the mainland, a dual system of income taxation that discriminates against certain taxpayers, too complex a method of taxing personal incomes, and so on.

In the final chapter, Kamins outlines his suggestions for alternative tax programs that conceivably could improve some of the conditions he has found.

Strictly Personal

Merle W. DeWees has resigned as executive director of the New Haven (Connecticut) Taxpayers Research Council to become sales manager of the Ansonia Electrical Company. Francis J. Kelly, former research assistant of the council, has become its executive director.

Formerly senior research assistant to the Pennsylvania Economy League, Gerald N. Hardy has resigned to become executive secretary of the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County (Texas), succeeding William E. Davis, Jr. Mr. Davis has entered private law practice in Texas.

Daniel L. Kurshan, former executive director of the New York City Citizens Budget Commission, has accepted an appointment as assistant to the executive director of the Port of New York Authority. The Budget Commission has appointed John M. Leavens as its new executive director. Mr. Leavens, as New York resident manager of the consulting firm of Griffenhagen and Associates, has been in charge of the career and salary plan study under the auspices of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey. As a consultant to governmental agencies, he has directed and participated in such studies as that of the top organization of the U. S. Treasury Department, organization and management of the city of Cleveland, and operations of the Rhode Island Department of Health.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

The 1953 City Budget. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* December 12, 1952. 4 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on the Budget. Lincoln, the Council, 1952. 34 pp.

Charters

Charter Suggestions for Maryland Municipalities. By Richard D. Andrews. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 67 pp.

City Halls

City Hall-Court House Requirements in the City of Toronto. Toronto 5, Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, 1952. 73 pp.

Debt

City Debt Bears Watching. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* December 1952. 3 pp.

Education

Public School Curriculum Evaluation. By Clarence E. Ackley; **Textbook Evaluation,** by Richard A. Ware; **Teacher Recruitment and Advancement,** by Henry Toy, Jr. (Addresses

before the Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association, September 10-12, 1952.) New York City, the Association, *GRA Reporter,* November-December 1952. 12 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Education. Lincoln, the Council, October 1952. 65 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on School Land Lease. Lincoln, the Council, September 1952. 51 pp.

Forms of Government

Forms of Town Government in Connecticut. By Max R. White and Shirley Raissi. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, October 1952. 25 pp. 25 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa. By Louise Noun. Burlington, *League of Iowa Municipalities Monthly Magazine,* December 1952. 12 pp.

Legislation

Summary of 1951-1952 Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government. By Olive H. Shadgett. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, November 1952. 44 pp. $1.00.

Legislative Bodies

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Rules of Legislature. Lincoln, the Council, October 1952. 15 pp.

Libraries

Survey of Library Facilities in Contra Costa County. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, *Research Bulletin,* December 1952. 4 pp.

Old Age Assistance

Trends in Old Age Assistance . . . and a Suggested Program. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, December 1952. 8 pp.

Parole and Corrections

Administration of Corrections and Parole in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 33 pp.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Registration of Voters in Louisiana. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *PAR Report,* December 8, 1952. 4 pp.

Personnel

The City Personnel Plan. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, November 1952. 2 pp.

Personnel Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 23 pp.

Police

Sixth Annual Peace Officers Training School. A Report. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 1952. 101 pp.

Public Health

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Public Health. Lincoln, the Council, July 1952. 39 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Administration in Maryland, Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, November 1952. 40 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Apportionment in Kansas. By Thomas Page. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 192 pp.

Regulatory Administration

Regulatory Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, October 1952. 81 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities and Schools (Revised). Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, November 1952. 44 pp.

Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Taxation. Lincoln, the Council, September 1952. 62 pp.

Books in Review

Civic Victories. The Story of an Unfinished Revolution. By Richard S. Childs. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952. xvii, 350 pp. $3.50.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The author's long and intimate connection with the National Municipal League and his position among scholars and civic leaders posed a delicate problem in getting an appropriately objective review of his book. This problem has been nicely solved by the appearance of the book's first review, published January 11, 1953, in *The New York Times Book Review*, written by William D. Ogdon, a member of *The Times* editorial board. It is reprinted, with permission, herewith.

A business executive and veteran reformer in politics, election law and government, Richard S. Childs gives us in *Civic Victories* the dividends of a busy lifetime devoted to producing better municipal, county and state government. New Yorkers know him well as a civic leader. But this is not a book about New York. It reflects, rather, the whole landscape of Mr. Childs' interest as an officer of the National Municipal League, the American Political Science Association, and the Institute of Public Administration.

Mr. Childs knows the self-serving politician will win out if the election process and government are not so formed as to be responsive to an electorate composed, not of the ideal, but of imperfect, indeed indolent, human beings. Voters will make no sense out of a ballot filling 40 to 56 offices at one time. Voters in Michigan elected the same man state treasurer four times, but upon later questioning only 4 per cent even knew his name.

This book promulgates three rules. First, elective offices must be "visible," not concealed from public scrutiny by being too numerous, unimportant or dull. Second, the constituency must be wieldy, not so large that it cannot be canvassed by the independent candidate. Otherwise the "organized political mercenaries" have a monopoly. Third, governments must be well integrated, without needlessly numerous units.

The cheering record of far-flung progress on the fronts of state government, the judiciary, municipal governments and other constituencies is recorded. Mr. Childs believes in the one-chamber legislature, as in Nebraska. An inventor of the council-manager form of city government but claiming no patent, he writes most persuasively of this 40-year-old innovation which has been adopted in 658 of the 2,525 United States cities of 5,000 population or over. The council is a small board of directors like a school board. It is the government. It hires a professional, a city manager, who is the administrator.

This book's breadth defies brief summary, and so does its usefulness. It is practical politics. It should be meat and drink for the college students, the citizen who wants to know how to go about improving his home town, the state legislator who thinks there may be a better way of doing things, but who wants tested ideas.

WILLIAM D. OGDON

Judicial Review of Legislation in New York 1906-38. By Franklin A. Smith. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. 251 pp. $3.50.

Seven hundred cases in the courts of New York, as a typical state, are sorted into subject groups and examined to find where constitutional clauses most often find their way into court and the effects of court interpretations on progress. The conclusion: "The tendency has been, particularly with labor legislation, for the courts

to acquiesce eventually to enactments if the legislative determination to pass them is persistent enough. In short, neither the hopes of its advocates that judicial review would be the cure for legislative misbehavior, nor the fears of its opponents that it would act as an insuperable obstacle to essential laws, have been realized."

R. S. C.

Informal Groups and the Community. By Hurley H. Doddy. New York, Columbia University, Teachers College, 1952. 34 pp. 75 cents.

Dr. Doddy, a sociologist, has studied 50 "informal groups" in 60 blocks of New York City's most depressed and overpopulated area, with the hypothesis that, "Underneath the impersonal life of the large city . . . there will be found some of the characteristics of the small community." Loosely banded together because of proximity, desire for personal security, degree of personality attraction and so on, these associations "have identified themselves as groups by the selection of a name or through acknowledgment of a central activity or purpose."

The pamphlet is focused primarily on the implications these groups hold for improving adult education methods, but the recommendations made by the author might be heeded in the conduct of any community improvement program. "The first step in community improvement . . . is . . . opening effective lines of communication between the people and the institutions. . . . Community self-improvement must stem from the people, and this can be done only by beginning the process in the smallest units of association—the informal group." Finally, community programs must continuously help people to meet and solve the problems of communal living, to acquire problem-solving skills.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

City Manager Government for Illinois. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University, Department of Government, 1952. 36 pp.

A handsome, comprehensive, illustrated brochure telling about the Illinois optional council-manager law, how to petition and campaign for its adoption and what to do thereafter. It complements a more technical instruction book put out in 1951 by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce.

Charter for New Jersey. The New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1947. By Richard N. Baisden. Trenton, New Jersey State Library, 1952. 118 pp. $1.50.

Mr. Baisden, now assistant professor of political science at Occidental College, Los Angeles, was a staff member of the 1947 constitutional convention of New Jersey. In this narrative of the background and proceedings of the convention, he exhibits the five main disputes which split the delegates and follows the progression to final vote. It was a well managed nonpartisan convention and an illuminating example of American self-government and intelligent progress. Mr. Baisden has described it well.

R. S. C.

The Law of Municipal Contracts with Annotated Model Forms. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1952. 192 pp. $7.50.

This volume is the first of its kind in its field. It is a practical handbook, suitable for the use of both municipal attorneys and municipal purchasing agents.

The model forms presented include: model contract proposal forms; general contract conditions (with annotations); special contract provisions suitable for general use; special model

provisions applicable to paving of streets, highways or sidewalks; model forms for contractor's performance, payment or maintenance bonds; model forms for prequalification of bidders, a form of bid, and other model forms suitable for other contract purposes.

Court decisions on the basic law of municipal contracts are outlined. There is a detailed table of contents and index and a table of court decisions.

Educational Planning by Neighborhoods in Centralized Districts. By Paul L. Essert and Robert West Howard. New York, Columbia University, Teachers College, 1952. 132 pp. $2.25.

In the centralized school districts of rural New York, these authors have looked for the ways in which individuals and neighborhood groups are learning to communicate with one another.

The authors conclude that the leadership in gaining "a balance of independence and interdependence in centralization" may come from any of several sources, "but in every case that succeeds there is a coming-together . . . of citizens . . . and technical leaders who for a time represent the interests of the emerging larger centralized units. As the process continues, the outside inventors recede in actual participation and leadership is deployed among those who will directly use the new centralized unit."

Written in a popular vein, this publication is intended to be a handbook for rural districts in strengthening the ties within new and larger units of government. GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

How Much Government? Individual Savings and How They Increasingly Funnel into Government Debt. New York 17, National Industrial Conference Board, 1952. 32 pp. $1.00.

A reduction to graphs and captions of salient facts about current economics, taxes and the drift of public policy.

Local Government in Canada. By Horace L. Brittain. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1952. x, 251 pp. $6.00.

Dr. Brittain, since 1914 a municipal researcher in Toronto with side expeditions into other Canadian municipalities, condenses his accumulated knowledge into this volume, the first comprehensive description of Canadian local government since 1907. The text is severely factual with little comment or appraisal and 100 of the 251 pages are appendices.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Authorities

Future Financing of the Port of New York Authority. By Austin J. Tobin. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York City, the Forum, 1952. 14 pp. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

Civil Defense

The Ever-Present Danger. A Magazine Program for the Self-protection of the American People Through Civil Defense. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, November 1952. Variously paged.

Codification of Ordinances

The Codification of Ordinances in Wisconsin Cities and Villages (Revised). Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1952. 23 pp. $1.00.

Economic Development

An Analysis of the Income Structure of Idaho. By William E. Folz. Mos-

cow, University of Idaho, October 1951. 117 pp.

Housing

New Housing in Metropolitan Areas, 1949-51. Structural Characteristics, Financing, Sales Prices, Rents, Incomes, Veteran Status. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1952. 64 pp.

Law Bibliographies

A Selected Bibliography on the Classification of Law. By Harriet S. Martin. **A Selected Bibliography on the Law of Vicarious Liability.** By Charles F. O'Brien. Columbus, Ohio State University, 1952. 9 pp. each. 25 cents each.

Libraries

A Survey of the Cataloging and Order Department, Racine Public Library. Racine, the Library, 1952. 15 pp.

Parking

Cleveland Downtown Parking Survey. Final Report and Technical Supplement. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1952. 45 and 112 pp. respectively. Illus.

North Carolina Supreme Court Decision on Municipal Parking. Norfolk, Virginia, National Parking Association, 1952. 4 pp.

Parks

State Parks. A Proposed Program for Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission in cooperation with the Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of State Parks, November 1952. 35 pp. Maps.

Planning

A Report on the Tennessee State Planning Commission. Organization and History; Activities of Divisions—Administration, Research, State Planning, Industrial Development, Local Planning. Nashville, the Commission, *The Tennessee Planner,* October 1952. 80 pp.

Population

Sixty Years of Population Growth in Idaho—1890-1950. By Harry C. Harmsworth. Moscow, University of Idaho, Department of Social Sciences, 1952. 85 pp.

Pressure Groups

Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress. By Julius Turner. Baltimore 18, Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. 190 pp.

Public Employee Unions

Policemen in Labor Unions (Case Law). Public Employee Unions. By H. Eliot Kaplan. New York City, National Civil Service League, *Civil Service Law Reporter,* September and October 1951. 13 pp. and 7 pp. respectively.

Refuse Disposal

A Bulletin on Garbage and Refuse Disposal, Including Papers Presented at the 1952 Disposal Seminar. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1952. 54 pp. $1.00.

Taxation and Finance

Summary of City Government Finances in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 17 pp.

The Taxation of Business and Manufacturing Corporations. State-Local Fiscal Relations. Parts V and VI of Report of Massachusetts Special Commission on Taxation. Boston, the Commission, 1952. 81 and 169 pp. respectively.

Traffic

Courses to Be Offered 1953-54. The Traffic Institute of Northwestern University. Evanston, Illinois, the Institute, 1953. 31 pp.

Statistics with Applications to Highway Traffic Analyses. By Bruce Douglas Greenshields and Frank Mark Weida. Saugatuck, Connecticut, The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1952. xix, 238 pp.

Traffic Law Enforcement. By Franklin M. Kreml. (Address before National Safety Congress.) Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, Traffic Institute, 1952. 32 pp.

Transit's Crisis Businessman's Concern. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1952. 12 pp.

Traffic Safety

Official Bicycle Safety Manual. Santa Monica, Department of Police, 1952. 24 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for February 1953, **Know and Obey Traffic Laws.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for March 1953: **Motor Manners.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

This Is Our Traffic Safety Program. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1952. 8 pp.

Voting Machines

The Use of Voting Machines in Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison 2, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, 1952. 12 pp.

Water

Fluoridation of Municipal Water Supply. A Review of the Scientific and Legal Aspects. By Charles S. Rhyne and Eugene F. Mullin, Jr. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officials, 1952. 62 pp. $3.

Zoning

Simplified Zoning for Small Communities. Hartford, Connecticut Development Commission, Research and Planning Division, January 1952. 5 pp.

Zoning in North Carolina. By Philip P. Green, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1952. 428 pp. $3.50.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 89)

and industry to be interchanged periodically for training purposes.

5. A definite plan for the recruiting, orienting and training of business executives for government service should be instituted, in addition to drawing upper-level executives from governmental career ranks.

Tokyo Strengthens Ward System

The metropolis of Tokyo, Japan, includes 23 wards, which were given the character of self-governing municipalities by the local self-governing law of 1947, according to the *Tokyo Municipal News,* published by the Tokyo metropolitan government. A reform bill, adopted by the Diet in 1952, includes measures directed toward greater coordination and efficiency of the ward system.

Definite distinctions as to functions and undertakings of the metropolitan government and the wards are made with a shifting of activities from the former to the latter. Public election of the heads of the wards is abolished in favor of their appointment by the ward assemblies, with the consent of the metropolitan governor. The latter official is to advise on coordination of administration between the metropolitan government and the wards, with power to act in furtherance of that purpose.

The reform bill is also reported to provide for reduction in the number of members of municipal councils in Japan, streamlining of prefectural departmental organization and simplification of administration.

The Winning Communities — —

Manhattan
Kans.
Pop. 19,056

In July 1951, the most devastating flood in its history swept through Manhattan, inundating half the corporate area, completely covering the downtown business district and causing damage estimated at $22,000,000. The city has made a brilliant recovery, made possible only by a tremendous amount of citizen cooperation and participation.

Charles Cochener
Spokesman

Individual citizens and the various organizations in the community joined hands and tackled the task of cleaning up. Many hours of labor were freely given, even by people untouched by the flood, such as the Kansas State College students and faculty. By the end of the year, great strides had been taken in restoring the business and community facilities.

But blighted areas remained which could never be rehabilitated. So a bond issue was passed to acquire the hardest hit properties and enable their former owners to relocate, 50 acres were annexed by the city to provide an opportunity for residents who had suffered flood loss to obtain new homes. Modern sewage and other facilities were extended. The Community Building was rebuilt by the combined service clubs. Another bond issue was passed to improve the city airport. Many other projects are still being carried on.

Miami
Fla.
Pop. 249,276

For years, the Miami-Dade County area has been a favorite hangout for gamblers and racketeers. They have thrived in an atmosphere of free-moving money typical of a winter resort because law enforcement in Miami and Dade County has been at a low ebb. Contracts and other official business have been conducted in defiance of law.

M. L. Todd
Spokesman

Respectable Miamians, aroused in part by the nationwide notoriety caused by the Kefauver Committee hearings and in part by the efforts of a local crime commission, exposures by press and radio, and information supplied by a local research bureau, took matters in their own hands. A citizens committee was organized to work for good candidates for office in Miami and Dade County. Two of its endorsed candidates for the city commission were elected and one of them became mayor. The committee also screened, endorsed and helped elect key school and county officials, including the sheriff. Endorsed by the committee after it had screened ten candidates, the sheriff won by a large majority despite an unusually ugly campaign against him.

Miami still has problems but its citizens have proved they can act.

The Winning Communities — —

Minneapolis Minn.

Pop. 521,718

Minneapolis has long suffered under one of the nation's poorer city charters and has been strait-jacketed by unusually low tax limits. Nevertheless, the people of this mid-western metropolis have always taken pride in their schools.

Raymond D. Black
Spokesman

Sparked by a citizens' committee in existence for twenty years, the people of Minneapolis have voted to raise the tax limits, launched a rehabilitation of their schools and have made parents more conscious than ever of the problems of educating their children. In 1952, a special week was set aside to focus attention on the schools and remind people of the importance of the role of teachers and other school personnel. Highlight of the week was a Salute to the Teachers Day when each of the city's 2,500 teachers received gifts from the students and their parents, were dined, and were guests of a program at the University of Minnesota honoring them.

Increased citizen activity on school matters has resulted. Teachers approach their classes with new confidence, knowing that the community is behind them.

Perhaps more important than the 1952 achievements is the continuity which has been characteristic of the committee's work through the years, making the committee of greater service as time goes on.

Newburgh N. Y.

Pop. 31,956

Newburgh in 1950 found itself with a constantly increasing budget, a two per cent retail sales tax, inadequate municipal services, and a system under which no citizen could ascertain either the financial condition of the city or the efficiency of its departments.

Edward G. O'Neill
Spokesman

In that year, an association of private citizens was formed, known as the Newburgh Tax Commission. These citizens gave willingly of their free time to help conduct a survey of the city government. Outside financial experts were hired at a cost of several thousand dollars, every cent of which came from private contributions.

Results of the survey were publicized and here's what followed: the sales tax was repealed, a lower budget was approved, services were increased, salaries of many public employees were raised, shorter work weeks were established for firemen and policemen, and a model off-street parking system was created. In addition, a city manager with broad municipal experience was imported to assure that the city would move ahead efficiently. Newburgh's city administration today is responsive to the needs of the citizens and the community.

Municipal achievement through intelligent citizen action, the basis for the All-America Cities awards, is clearly illustrated by The Newburgh Story.

— — And Why They Won

Owensboro
Ky.
Pop. 33,651

Owensboro's case is strikingly similar to that of Bemidji: citizen action was responsible for a comprehensive school building program and for adoption of the council-manager form of government.

Ralph W. Cherry
Spokesman

This city was faced with two educational problems common to many U. S. communities. Its school buildings had become obsolete and unsafe and fast-increasing enrollment was causing overcrowded conditions. In 1950, the Owensboro Council for Education, formed by public-spirited citizens, recommended a special tax to finance new school construction, then acquainted the voters with the reasons for the need for such a levy. The P.T.A. joined in during an active campaign, and the tax was approved by the voters. The council is now working with school officials in planning a building program.

For many years, Owensboro has had the commission form of government. It hasn't worked too well. A Citizens Association was formed to study ways and means of improving the city government. The association recommended the council-manager form and, aided by the League of Women Voters, conducted a campaign to inform the voters why it believed the plan was needed. The result: adoption of the plan.

Roanoke
Va.
Pop. 91,921

An amazing wave of civic consciousness has swept this southern city since World War II, thanks to an awakened citizenry which has virtually pulled Roanoke up by its bootstraps.

At the end of the war, Roanoke found itself in an unhappy position. The schools were run down, the water system was in need of expansion, a new sewage disposal system was mandatory and nearly all phases of capital improvement were lagging.

M. Carl Andrews
Spokesman

The year 1952 saw the climax of a many-faceted program of progress fostered by civic groups and a crusading newspaper. A $4,250,000 bond issue was voted which, augmented by $2,000,000 of state money, has completed a magnificent school program. A new sewage disposal system, financed by $4,050,000 in self-liquidating bonds, has been completed to help clean up the "filthiest river in Virginia," water service has been improved, and a new library has been opened. Plans were completed for a viaduct to overpass railroad tracks in the heart of the city, merchants collaborated to finance a new $150,000 parking building, and the city provided other public facilities.

The Roanoke achievement shows that vigorous citizen action can pay dividends.

Woonsocket
R. I.
Pop. 50,211

This New England city for years has been bogged down in the familiar morass of mismanagement, waste and secrecy in public matters. Woonsocket has been dominated by political machines, partisan politics and bossism.

J. Edmund Naylor
Spokesman

Last year, two public officials were convicted on corruption charges. Two others are under indictment. Public attention was focused on irregularities in the city's purchasing board and repeated diversion of public property to private channels.

When a constitutional amendment at last made home rule available to Rhode Island cities last year, aroused Woonsocket citizens went into action. The Citizens League launched a charter revision proposal which was adopted by an overwhelming 42-1 margin. The League then elected nine endorsed candidates to a charter commission. Labor, business and civic groups showed their interest by drawing up recommendations for the new charter and presenting them to the commission as an indication of public opinion on what should be incorporated. The commission produced a strong-mayor charter which was approved by the voters November 4 by a twelve-to-one margin. In addition, candidates opposed by the local machines of both parties were elected to the city government.

League Initiates Staff Fellowship

The National Municipal League Fellowship has been established by the League's Executive Committee. The first holder of the Fellowship is Guthrie S. Birkhead who joined the staff in September on a one-year leave of absence from the Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University, where he is assistant professor of political science.

The decision of the Council means that Mr. Birkhead is the first of a series of young but professionally established men and women on one-year tours of duty with the League.

A precedent was set ten years ago when the League had another young political scientist, Edward W. Weidner, on the staff for about a year and a half. Mr. Weidner, who returned to university work, is now head of the political science department at Michigan State College and director of its Governmental Research Bureau.

The League Fellowship is designed to serve several purposes: to give the League the benefit and stimulus of a continuing flow of young blood through the organization, to provide an educational experience for promising political scientists in what might be described as the practical application of political science on the citizen level and to strengthen the cooperative relationship between the political science profession and the League.

Discussions have been initiated with representatives of the American Political Science Association looking toward a regular procedure for securing candidates for the Fellowship.